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ONTARIO HISTORY

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THE FAT YEARS AND THE LEAN

London (Canada) in Boom and Depression, 1851-61

By Orlo Miller

The history of a nation is reflected in the history of its local communities. The decade 1851 to 1861 was productive of far-reaching consequences for this nation, and indeed, for all the nations of the world. What follows is the story of the events of those years as they were reflected in the one small local community of London, Canada West. This is in no sense intended as a study in economics, although it is largely concerned with economic effects. Its modest intention is rather to survey the impacts of the events of that decade upon the life of this community, and to explain their long-term effects upon the economic philosophy of what has long been considered one of the soundest municipal corporations in North America.

This was most decidedly not the case in 1848, the year in which London became a town. Indeed in November of that year, a cheque issued by the corporation of London in the amount of £450 was refused by the banks. It was not until the town's note was endorsed by three leading citizens that the Bank of Upper Canada would advance sufficient funds to meet the town's current expenses. It was not the case either, in 1854, when the corporation tried to juggle a budget showing expenditures for the year of £74,000. "Juggle" is the correct verb, for London's financial position was no stronger in 1854 than it was six years earlier. If anything, it was less strong, for the expenditures of 1854 included a substantial down payment on a railway which, in the ninety-six years of its operation has been more often a liability than an asset. The London and Port Stanley Railway, incorporated in 1853 and completed in 1856, cost the people of London £162,850 at a time when the annual tax returns on assessed property seldom exceeded £2,000.

The passage of the next five years did nothing to improve the situation. In 1859, the corporation of this city, far from being able to afford a railway, could not even find funds sufficient to provide for its indigents. In March of that year, it was found necessary to open a public subscription list for the relief of the poor. In addition, soup kitchens were opened by several of the city's churches and fraternal orders. The obviously unsound nature of the city's finances during this hectic period is reflected in other statistics—population figures, for instance. The population of London skyrocketed from 5,000 in 1848 to 16,000 in 1855 and then declined to 11,000 in 1859. With all the cold impersonality of statistics, these figures create a picture of a community that the average modern Londoner will find difficulty in recognizing as a portrait of his city.

It was out of these mistakes, out of the financial idiocies of London's silly years that the city's present sound financial philosophy was eventually forged. The burned child fears the fire. London was affected by the world-wide boom and depression of the 1850's perhaps more severely than any other city in North America. There were good reasons why this was so. To understand them, it is necessary for a moment to consider London's beginnings.

London was founded in 1826. Its survival for the first twenty-five years of its history was largely due to luck and the snobbishness of the neighbouring community of St. Thomas. The piece of luck came first. In 1825, the courthouse and other administrative offices of the vast District of London burned to the ground at Vittoria, in the southeast corner of the District. It was thereupon determined to locate a new district capital more centrally. The village of Delaware, St. Thomas and Ingersoll competed so vigorously for the honour, the commissioners in charge determined instead on a neutral site—the spot at the forks of the River Thames, chosen thirty-four years earlier by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe as the most suitable site for the capital of the new Province of Upper Canada. By 1831, the new courthouse had been completed and all the district offices moved to London. The courthouse, nucleus of the present building, dominated the village, economically as well as physically. The hotels, the stores, the smithies—all were there to cater to such members of the travelling public as had business at the courts. Indeed that was the only reason one could have for visiting this raw little collection of log and frame buildings squatting amid the swamps, the quicksand bogs and the marshes that represented the geography of the London town site. And so, for the first seven years of its existence, London's chief and indeed only industry, was litigation. This was all changed in 1838. In that year, as a result of the border disturbances that followed the Upper Canada Rebellion, a large number of British regular troops were sent to the western section of the province. Barracks were prepared for them at several centres. One of the villages chosen was St. Thomas. However, the good people of that village objected to the presence of a regiment of rowdy soldiers in their midst and refused to allow the barracks to be built there. The authorities consequently selected London instead and within a year had let contracts totalling more than $200,000 for the building of an extensive barracks in the northern part of the London townsite. The effect on London's economy was immediate. The introduction of good British silver into the town's financial structure was like a shot in the arm. Business doubled, building increased and the population figures took a sudden, sharp rise. London's second chief industry was the British Army.

By the late 1840's, London's economy had become tied to a more stable commodity than either litigation or logistics. That commodity was wheat. The British Corn Law of 1822, by providing a favoured scale

of duties for Canadian grain, gave the initial incentive towards a one-crop economy for the western peninsula. As fast as its fertile acres were cleared and put to the plough, they were sowed to wheat. By the middle of the nineteenth century Western Ontario had become one vast granary and London one of its principal market towns and shipping centres. One thing only remained to make the city one of Canada's most important wheat export points—a railway.

The railway had existed as a dream in the minds of a few progressive citizens since 1834. In 1845, with the incorporation of the Great Western Railway Company, a further step was taken. Two years later, Colonel Thomas Talbot turned the first sod for the London station of the road, and by 1851 actual construction of the line from Hamilton to Windsor, was under way. The day the first rail was laid, London entered a new era of expansion, and a new commodity began to be traded on the London markets. That commodity was real estate.

Before the rails actually reached London—on December 15th, 1853—the city was in the grip of as wild a real estate boom as ever afflicted any area on the continent. Property along the right of way of the Great Western Railway suddenly assumed fantastic values. As in the city, so in the surrounding country. Property, not on the railway, but in areas where it might reasonably be expected feeder lines would be constructed later, also rose incredibly in market value. It was rich field for the speculator. Property changed hands with dizzy speed and frequency. Fortunes were made overnight—on paper. In very few cases was the full amount of the purchase price laid on the line. An instance is recorded in the files of the London Free Press where one lot of land actually changed hands several times in the course of a single day—and no cash involved. It was margin buying on a scale equalled only once since in this area—in the hectic days preceding the stock market collapse of 1929. The fever reached its most insane manifestation in London. Real estate promoters commissioned the survey of suburban building lots as far west as the village of Komoka, fourteen miles from the westernmost limits of the town. Still other promoters laid out suburbs five miles to the north, at St. John; ten miles to the east, at Dorchester, and nearly to St. Thomas on the south.

If their dreams had materialized it would have required a population larger than modern Detroit to adequately people the physical framework of the new London. Their predictions were a long way out. Today, a century later, the total population of the metropolitan area is only a little over one hundred thousand—and Komoka is still fourteen miles away. As an example of the inflated values placed on London real estate in the years between 1851 and 1857, it will suffice to cite the case of the London businessman who bought a building lot on the eastern fringe of the present downtown shopping district during the boom. Unlike most of his fellow speculators, he paid cash. For the ensuing fifty years he

paid city taxes on the lot and the building he had erected on it. Finally, in 1905, he sold the lot and the building. He got what was then considered a good price—it lacked a dollar of what he had paid for the lot alone a half century before.[1]

In 1853, amid great fanfare, the railway arrived. In the same year, almost unnoticed in the atmosphere of wild-eyed speculation, the British garrison, source of London's first prosperity, removed from the town. If the departure of the red-coats had little effect on London's new-found economy, the reason for their departure had a great effect. The troops were withdrawn for overseas service at the outbreak of the Crimean War, which resulted in an enormously increased demand for Canadian wheat and a consequent sharp rise in price. London was now connected by rail with both Toronto and Windsor. Grain, flowing into the town from the rich acres of the Huron Tract to the north along the newly-opened Proof Line Road could now be shipped speedily to the European markets from either of the two big lake ports.

But why, argued the town council of 1853, should all this business go to Toronto and Windsor? If there were a railway connecting London with its natural lakeport, Port Stanley, shipping costs would be cut and the profits would accrue to the grain-dealers, the merchants and the commonalty of London. With such optimistic reasoning as this, the citizens of London committed themselves to an investment of some three-quarters of a million dollars. The line was completed in 1856, in time to receive the full effects of the collapse of wheat prices and the beginning of a prolonged business depression. Depression, however, was far from the minds of the Londoners who, in January, 1855, proudly heard their town proclaimed Canada's newest city. A census taken in mid-1854 had revealed the astonishing fact that in less than seven years, London's population had more than trebled. Civic pride demanded its incorporation as a city.

Meanwhile, as the prices of wheat and real estate continued their spectacular rise, so did those of other commodities, in that deadly inflationary spiral with which we of later generations are so sickeningly familiar. Wages rose at a slower pace than food prices and distress among the artisans and labourers of the mushrooming city soon became acute. One of the first tasks facing the new city council of 1855 was the appointment of a committee for indigent relief.[2] The peak of the spiral was reached in the fall of 1856. The pacemaker was wheat. At this time some three thousand bushels a day were being sold on the London market, most of it for export, a great deal of it bound for destinations in the United States. The prices obtaining ranged from $2.20 a bushel for spring wheat to $2.64 a bushel for fall wheat. Even by today's standards, these figures are high. When compared with the

1. *The London Free Press*, May 1905.
2. Minute book, London City Council, January, 1855.

1849 prices of sixty to seventy-five cents a bushel, they represent an advance, in seven years, of more than 350 per cent in the market price of the peninsula's principal agricultural commodity.

If 1849 market prices are taken as a base, it is found that the prices of the foodstuffs the London artisan of 1856 had to buy had risen from 100 to 300 per cent. For instance: He paid seventeen cents a pound for country butter in 1849; by 1856 the price had risen to twenty-five cents. He bought eggs at five cents a dozen in 1849; seven years later he was paying five times that amount. Chickens rose during the same period from twenty cents a pair to a top of sixty cents each. Mutton rose three cents only—from five cents to eight cents a pound. Pork, the staple of his diet, on the other hand, nearly doubled in price, from $3.20 a hundredweight to $6.25. Potatoes rose from sixty cents a bushel to $1.10.

This was the peak. In the words of the popular ballad prices had gone "about as fur as they could go". The top of the spiral had been reached and its collapse was near. The little city of London was but a mirror reflecting world conditions. The Crimean War had triggered the mad upward spiral. The close of the war threw the whole western world into a state of severe financial depression. In September, 1856, a large British bank failed, ruining thousands of small investors. By January, 1857, the depression had spread to this continent and an American newspaper reported 100,000 unemployed in New York City and its vicinity. By March, the newspapers of London, Canada West, were reporting "a general tightness of money".

The full fury of the storm was still some months off when the farmers of Western Ontario seeded their fields to wheat that spring. They were soon more concerned with the Canadian weather than with the daily reports of bank failures in the United States. The growing season started off badly, with torrential rains that continued into late May and delayed sowing operations. June was cold and gloomy. The first two weeks in July were a decided improvement. Then, just as it appeared the crop would have a chance after all, a late frost struck. A farmer near Komoka rose early and went out to have a look at his crop. The stalks of the wheat were bent half over with the weight of frost-split and soggy kernels. The farmer returned to his house and blew out his brains. By September it was apparent that the crop failure was general throughout the continent. The harvest of the pitifully-reduced yield was about to begin when the rains returned. What was still standing in the fields was drowned out.

The one ray of light in the gloom was the continuing high price of grain, caused by the short supply. Once the local harvest began moving to the export markets, it was felt conditions in London would improve. However, the local banks had become cautious, in view of the general panic, and refused to advance money to the London wheat merchants. *The London Free Press* editorialized on the situation:

> The present monetary and commercial crisis is unquestionably the severest that has visited this continent for many years. Already many of the leading banking institutions of the chief cities of the United States . . . have succumbed or suspended. Public confidence has ceased to exist, commercial enterprises are completely checked . . . and stagnation, gloom and panic pervade the land. That we in Canada are deeply affected by this state of things in the neighbouring republic, as well as by the tightness of the money market in England, is unquestionable. The Banks, as a measure of precaution, have limited their discounts to the lowest possible figure. They do not feel themselves justified even in advancing the means to our wheat merchants to enable them to render available the produce of the last harvest. This was what our merchants and people had chiefly to depend upon; and, with the staple products of the country locked up in our granaries, our condition must be from bad to worse . . . with the channels of commerce comparatively dried up, our staple products kept out of the market, the labours of the mechanic suspended for want of capital, little or no money in the hands of the people, and a gloomy winter close upon us, we have sufficient cause for serious reflection, and for asking the question, can nothing be done to relieve us?

The panic had been somewhat late in reaching London, but when it struck, it was with a savagery unequalled elsewhere in North America. There were three good reasons why this was so. In the first place, most London businesses of the 1850's were small, shoestring family affairs, less able to weather financial storms than large, wealthy manufacturing concerns. Not until the discovery of oil in Western Ontario in the 1860's did London become the centre of any large industry. The second cause was the one-crop economy of the farming area upon which London de;pended. As the price of wheat went, so did London's prosperity, and with the yield reduced and as *The Free Press* stated "locked up in the granaries" the flow of foreign exchange was reduced to a trickle. The third cause was the era of wild speculation in real estate which had preceded the collapse. In this respect, *The Free Press* commented in the fall of 1857:

> Almost the whole of those businessmen who attended to their legitimate occupations, letting speculation in town lots and bogus villages alone, have stood and will stand their ground.

During the next two frightful years, Londoners turned back the pages. Then, as in the early years of the city's history, the chief industry of its citizens became litigation. The debtors' courts handled the greatest volume of business and in this, as in other aspects of the depression, London established an unenviable record. From their inception the London courts had been notorious for the stringency with which they administered Canada's mediaeval debtors' laws. Under the brutal Debtors' Act, an outmoded civil law inherited from the Mother Country, a creditor could secure the imprisonment of a man or woman for non-payment of a debt as small as forty dollars. The injustices practised under this Act were even worse than those crusaded against by Charles

Dickens in England. The Canadian prisons were smaller and more crowded than their English counterparts and the treatment accorded the debtors more brutal. And nowhere in Canada were the conditions as bad as in London. A local newspaper took the stand that, were it not for the operation of this vicious law, many hard-pressed businessmen would have stuck it out until the tide turned, instead of running for the border when the shadow of the debtors' prison fell close upon them:

> We unhesitatingly affirm, dispute it who may, that by far the largest proportion of the disaster that has fallen upon this place has arisen from the course complained of, and that those who practise it are the worst enemies of the city. In no other place in Canada has this mania prevailed; but to such an extent is it carried o;n here, that London has become a bye-word in the Province, as containing plenty of lodging room in the houses, but none in the jail.

By the end of 1859 it was only too bitterly obvious that there was no lodging room in the London jail. There came to be a general relaxation in the exercise of the law, by virtue of necessity. It is no exaggeration to say that, between September, 1857 and September 1859, three-quarters of the small businesses of the city went under. The debtors' apartments were no longer able to take care of the waiting list. By the end of 1859 it became apparent also that the exercise of the Debtors' Act had had a marked effect upon the population figures of the city, which dropped from 16,000 in 1855 to 11,000 in 1859.

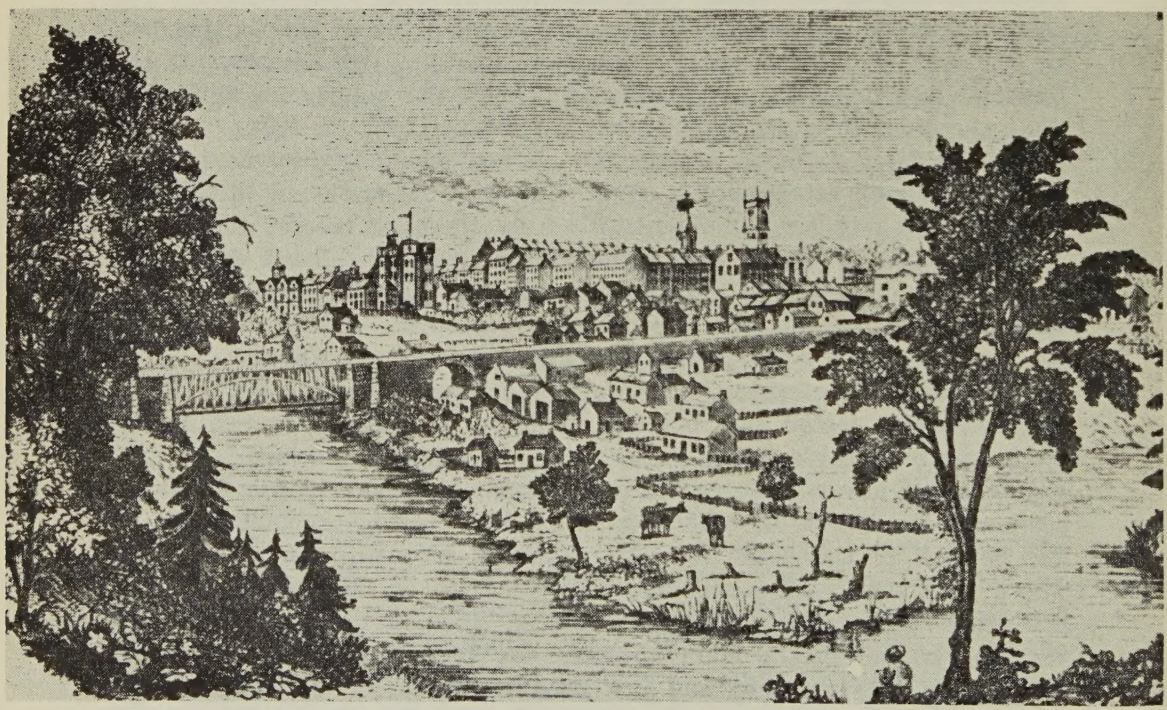
Meanwhile, suffering among the poor of the city became intense. The city council established a soup kitchen in connection with the city hospital. All day long, indigents lined up there to receive their dole. And when the kitchen's food quota for the day had been exhausted, there were still scores of empty stomachs. The city's charitable institutions, its churches and its fraternal orders joined the battle against want. At one time at least five public soup kitchens were operating.

At last, in the spring of 1860, the tide began to turn. A sad and chastened city tested the financial winds, and found them favourable. More than favourable, for oil had been discovered in the western peninsula. Wheat would never again regain the importance it once held in London's economy; the bubble of land speculation had been pricked, but here on the horizon to the west was a new source of wealth and prosperity. There were still a few Londoners who could feel in this new word "oil" the same sort of fever that had captured them in the wildest days of the land boom. In the main however, the citizens remembered all too vividly the suffering they had just passed through. Most of them took the advice offered by the editor of *The London Free Press*:

> There will be a large amount of speculation today at Sarnia, a quantity of land situated in what is known as the "oil regions" being about to be put up at public sale . . . . As to the sale today "caution" is the word. Many will be carried away doubtless with the enthusiasm of the occasion. Let us remember the land fever

and take care to avoid catching a complaint of a somewhat similar character under the name of the "oil fever". Buyers, feel your pulses, and keep cool!

This was good advice. It was taken to heart and practised by generations of Londoners, long years after the events that called it forth had been forgotten. We Londoners have been chided many times for the extreme caution with which we conduct our financial affairs. We do so with good reason. We have never forgotten the bitter lesson we learned in the decade beginning in 1851, the lesson of the fat years and the lean.



VIEW OF LONDON, CANADA WEST, IN 1852

From left to right can be seen the Great Western Railway bridge crossing the Thames, Middlesex County Court courthouse with flag flying, blocks of brick buildings erected after the disastrous fires of April, 1845, which razed the business section, St. Peter's Church (Roman Catholic), and St. Paul's (Church of England), both of which became cathedrals.

"Photograph of Moose Factory showing Anglican Church, with B. R. Ross, F.R.G.S., the Anglican missionary, and Mr Broughton, his assistant, 1865."
From a photograph in the Public Archives

RENDEZVOUS AT MOOSE FACTORY, 1882

Introduction and Notes by Morris Zaslow

In 1882 Moose Factory—the forerunner of Ontario's modern-day ocean outlet of Moosonee—was, as it had been for two centuries previous, a capital of the fur trade and the supply base for the Southern Department of the Hudson's Bay Company. Each summer its residents greeted the arrival of a ship from England laden with supplies for their settlement and for distribution among the other posts at the "bottom of the Bay" and inland along the rivers flowing into James Bay. Situated some distance up the Moose River, Moose Factory could not be reached even by the sailing ships of that day—represented at this time by the barque *Prince of Wales*[1]—and incoming vessels picked their way at high tide across the sand bars to the "Ship Hole", about nine miles above the fort, where they remained at anchor approximately three weeks while their cargoes were removed to the post by relays of schooners.[2] Besides its trading and transportation functions, Moose was also an important mission station. The Rev. George Barnley, one of the three Methodist missionaries sent out from Britain in 1840 to bring the Gospel to the western Indians, made the fort the centre of his eight years' ministry,[3] and not long after the closing of this mission the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England placed young John Horden at Moose Factory. Largely as a consequence of Horden's very successful ministry he was consecrated first Bishop of Moosonee in 1872 and Moose Factory became the episcopal seat of an immense diocese embracing a band of territory two or three hundred miles wide surrounding the eastern, southern and western coasts of Hudson Bay.[4]

Moose Factory was the largest, most advanced settlement in the eastern portion of the territory at that time in dispute between Ontario and the Dominion Government, a dispute which saw the district awarded to Ontario by arbitration in 1878, by decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1884, and by act of the Imperial Parliament in 1889.[5] E. B. Borron, the Stipendiary Magistrate for the District of Nipis-

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1. A fairly detailed list of shipping in Hudson Bay is to be found in Canada, House of Commons. *Journals*, 1884. Appendix 2 "Select Committee on Hudson Bay Navigation, Evidence", especially 61-77 (William Smith, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries).

2. Canada. Dept. of the Interior. *Annual Report*, 1890, Part V, 10-16 (William Ogilvie's boundary survey report).

3. Maclean, J. *Vanguards of Canada* (Toronto, 1918), 37, 62-3.

4. For the career of Bishop Horden see Batty, Mrs. B. S. *Forty Two Years amongst the Indians and Eskimo* (London, 1893) Heeney, W. B., ed. *Leaders of the Canadian Church, First Series* (Toronto, 1918), 135-67, "Bishop Horden" by E. J. Peck; Stock, E. *The History of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1899), II, 320-1, 326, 609-11; III, 244-6, 624-6, 628, etc.

5. Nicholson, N. L. *The Boundaries of Canada, Its Provinces and Territories* (Canada. Dept. of Mines and Technical Surveys, Geographical Branch. Memoir 2, 1954), 61-4; White, J. "Boundary Disputes and Treaties" in *Canada and Its Provinces*, ed. A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty (23 vols., Toronto, 1914-17), VIII, 878-908.

sing, under whose jurisdiction the Province of Ontario placed this segment of the Disputed Territory, described the settlement and its site as he found them in 1879:

> Moose Island is nearly two miles in length, and from one-half to three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and the area may be about a thousand acres. It is almost perfectly level or flat, and elevated from fifteen or twenty feet above low water mark. The river at this point is upwards of two miles in width.
>
> The settlement is on the south-east side of the island, and occupies a strip of land on the bank of the river about three-quarters of a mile in length. On this, stationed at intervals to lessen the risk of total destruction by fire, are the offices, houses, stores, warehouses, mechanics' shops, and some twenty-five or thirty cottages for the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. They are all good, substantial wooden buildings. There is a neat little Episcopal Church, a Parsonage, and small school-house. These, with forty or fifty tents usually to be seen here during summer, present altogether rather a pleasing appearance. The population is about 450 souls in the summer, and not more than 150 in the winter season.[6]

Another statement, of 1881, classified the population by origin as 385 Indians (all Crees except for one or two Ojibways), forty-six half-breeds, and eighteen whites.[7]

Despite the annual summertime visits of the Stipendiary Magistrate or the comings and goings of agents of the Dominion Government,[8] despite also the fierce boundary dispute raging 'outside', Moose Factory in 1882 still pursued its time-honoured routine. Visitors were favourably impressed with the orderly, law-abiding character of the settlement, the decorous and respectful behaviour of the Indians, their piety and comparatively good progress towards civilization, also with the work of the mission. Of a church service that Mr. Borron attended he wrote glowingly, "The whole service indeed was such as no one would have expected to find in such an isolated and secluded spot, and could hardly fail to edify an earnest worshipper of any Christian denomination."[9] A dozen years after the territorial claims of the Hudson's Bay Company had been extinguished, however, the Company's annual ship was still the sole practicable means of access to Moose Factory, no treaty had been made with the Indians, and no state aid for schools or relief was forthcoming. The sole tangible evidence of Canada's presence were the oppressive customs duties levied upon goods imported from England, even upon necessaries like flour, and even though supplies could not have been delivered from Canada in any event.[10] The very specimens and samples which Mr.

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6. Ontario. Legislative Assembly. *Sessional Papers*, 1880, no. 22. "Reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates with respect to the Northerly and Westerly Parts of the Province of Ontario", 9.

7. Canada. House of Commons. *Journals*, 1884, Appendix 2, 61.

8. For example Dr. Robert Bell, "the father of place names", who visited the settlement in 1875 and 1877 during the course of explorations on behalf of the Geological Survey of Canada.

9. Ontario. *Sessional Papers*, 1881, no. 44, 39.

10. Ontario. *Sessional Papers*, 1880, no. 22, 54; 1881, no. 44, 14; also Bishop Horden's "Statement Regarding the Diocese of Moosonee", undated but noted as received April 24, 1882, in C.M.S. Archives, C/C1/1882 no. 37.

Borron collected in 1880 were shipped to Toronto by way of London, across the Atlantic and back. As for the Province of Ontario, Borron confessed he was utterly powerless to cope with any emergency that might arise and he advised that for the present nothing should be done which undermined the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company officers or interfered with the "condition of involuntary abstinence" imposed by the Company's restrictions upon liquor imports.[11]

Such was the situation at Moose Factory when the letters reproduced below were despatched to the Church Missionary Society in London. The occasion was the somewhat unusual meeting in Moose Factory of five Church of England missionaries, two of whom by their letters were transmitting reports of the recently-completed nine weeks' voyage from Britain on the annual ship. A third was announcing his arrival from the remote fur-trading post of Little Whale River, 500 miles to the north, and Bishop Horden was relating his experiences while journeying to Moose by way of the Ottawa-Abitibi route overland from Toronto. These give valuable eyewitness accounts of the facilities then available for travellers to this remote sector of northern Ontario, particularly since one of the correspondents was in a position to report upon the rapidly advancing frontier of settlement in the upper Ottawa valley at the time of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In addition, the four letters taken as a group afford an insight into Anglican missions and missionaries in remote sections of Ontario—and of northern Canada generally—during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Since the writers included two new recruits, a missionary of five years' experience, and a bishop with over a generation of work behind him, the letters reveal something of the wide range of functions, responsibilities and attitudes of mind of men in various stages of the missionary career, and they offer interesting studies of the missionary psychology and of the varied personality types enrolled in the self-imposed, self-denying task of bringing the blessings of religion and civilization to a primitive people.[12]

11. Ontario. *Sessional Papers*, 1880, no. 22, 36; 1881, no. 44, 14, 39; 1882, no. 53, 42.

12. Still another very important missionary type was represented at Moose Factory in the fifth clergyman, Rev. Thomas Vincent, whose account of the rendezvous unfortunately has not been preserved. He was stationed at Fort Albany, 100 miles west of Moose Factory, but had come to Moose early in 1882 because of the abrupt resignation and departure of the clergyman whom the bishop had left in charge there before his departure for England on leave in September 1880 (See footnote 40). Vincent was an outstanding product of the Church establishment at Red River, whose schools and College of St. John's were a tower of strength to the cause of the Church of England in western Canada, sending forth their students to labour unspectacularly but with considerable success at stations all the way from Lake Superior to farthest Yukon. Vincent came to Moose Factory as a catechist and pupil of Horden, was ordained by Bishop Anderson of Rupert's Land in 1863 and devoted the rest of his life to the ministry at Fort Albany and Moose, dying in 1906. He was appointed Archdeacon of Moose in 1883 and for many years reports of his work found prominent place in the C.M.S.'s annual publication, *Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries*. He paid one visit to England during the winter of 1885-6 "to see a work carried through the press—a Cree translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,

This is perhaps best exemplified in the letter of the Rev. Edmund J. Peck, the missionary who had journeyed from Little Whale River to the rendezvous at Moose Factory.[13] Peck was a typical missionary-explorer, imbued with a restless, adventurous spirit that impelled him time after time to seek out new hardships in order to vanquish them. A sailor who had suddenly felt called to a religious vocation, he entered the Church Missionary Society's Preparatory Institute but soon was sent to Moosonee where he at once set to work among the Eskimos at Little Whale River, the farthermost Hudson's Bay Company post along the eastern coastline of Hudson Bay. In recommending his furlough, Bishop Horden suggested that "Mr. Peck will be a very excellent deputation for the Society during his stay in England, being very ready of speech and taking considerable pains in preparation. He is a very dear fellow, and worthy all the encouragement we can give him."[14] Ever eager to explore new fields and to reach new bands of Eskimos, he proposed going on his leave by traversing the Labrador peninsula to Fort Chimo and boarding a ship at that point. Characteristically, when this proved impractical he postponed his leave for a year and then accomplished his project. Where another missionary might have sought a less arduous post after two tours of duty among the Hudson Bay Eskimos, Peck only moved further north and inaugurated the first regular mission in the Arctic islands of Canada, to the Eskimos of Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island. Still later, always the innovator, he founded a mission at Lake Harbour along the northern coast of Hudson Strait, this time under the auspices of the Church of England in Canada. His letter of August 22, 1882, written when Peck was only fairly launched upon his lifetime career, offers glimpses into the writer's intense evangelical fervour, and his sense of dedication to the task of winning the Eskimos of the frozen north over to Christianity.

As for the new arrivals from England, Henry Nevitt[15]—the writer of the most polished, precise letter of the four—was already an ordained minister with three years' service as a curate when he volunteered to join the North-West America Mission, and perhaps he was not too adaptable, for Bishop Horden judged him best suited to the routine of an established mission like Fort Albany or Moose Factory.[16] Nevitt continued in Moosonee until 1891 when he retired to England because of his wife's health and resumed the ministerial career interrupted by

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which I was anxious to get well done" (*ibid.*, 1886-7, 7). His career is also referred to in Stock, E., *op. cit.*, II, 320, 322, 330, 609; III, 244; IV, 369; and in Batty, B. S., *op. cit.*, etc. See also the note in C.M.S. *Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay and Female) and Native Clergy from 1804 to 1904* (London, n.d.), 124 (no. 606).

13. See Lewis, A. *The Life and Work of the Rev. E. J. Peck among the Eskimos* (London, 1904); Stock, E., *op. cit.*, III, 245-6, 625-8; IV, 374-5; Batty, B. S., *op. cit.*, etc. Also his reports in C.M.S. *Extracts from the Annual Letters*, various years.

14. Letter from Carlisle, April 15, 1882, in C.M.S. Archives, C/C1/1882 no. 40.

15. C.M.S. *Register of Missionaries*, 199 (no. 951).

16. Letter of March 17, 1882, in C.M.S. Archives, C/C1/1882 no. 30.

the missionary interlude. Joseph Lofthouse,[17] his travelling companion, was Nevitt's junior by three years. He had completed his training at the Preparatory Institution and the Church Missionary College at Islington and was now proceeding to his first post. In Lofthouse the bishop thought he detected "a second Peck" to perform a parallel role among the Eskimos on the western side of Hudson Bay north of Fort Churchill. Lofthouse accompanied Peck back to Little Whale River where he spent the winter studying and becoming trained for work among the Eskimos. In 1885 he returned to Moose, was ordained, then proceeded to York Factory and Fort Churchill which became the principal centres of his ministry. In 1902 he was appointed first Bishop of Keewatin and in 1920 he retired, after nearly as long a career as his superior, whose foremost disciple he had proved himself.

Finally there was the chief, Bishop Horden, a self-made, largely self-taught man whose "dauntless energy of purpose and unwavering persistence"[18] were proof against all obstacles. Like Peck, his was an unusual background of the ministry, for he had been apprenticed as a smith and afterwards employed as an usher in a boys' school. Though he presented himself to the Church Missionary Society as a lay worker and gave India as his preference, he willingly accepted the proffered post of Moose Factory and within three weeks was on his way to James Bay with his bride. Then followed years of mastering native languages, of teaching, evangelizing and itinerating between the far-scattered settlements of his district, training a series of assistants and mission helpers, building churches, and after his consecration as bishop, planning operations and coping with the complexities of diocesan administration and finance. Meanwhile, like mission wives everywhere, Mrs. Horden supplemented her husband's work by teaching, training, charitable work, and setting an example of the goodly life. Since Bishop Horden placed great stress upon making Christian literature available to his nomadic parishioners he was much engaged throughout his career in translating religious writings into Cree, Ojibway and Eskimo with the assistance of the Revs. Vincent and Sanders and others of his native clergy. In January 1893, after nearly 42 years missionary service, Bishop Horden died, still at work and still at the mission that had been his base throughout his career, Moose Factory.

The Bishop's letter provides ample illustrations of some of the problems that fell to the lot of heads of Anglican missions in northern Canada. Foremost among these were the problems of personnel, of securing sufficient staff and deploying missionaries to the best advantage in the light of their particular qualifications and in accordance with

17. See his autobiography, *A Thousand Miles from a Post Office* (London, 1922); Stock, E., *op. cit.*, III, 625-6; IV, 372-3; his reports in C.M.S. *Extracts from Annual Letters*, various years; Batty, B. S., *op. cit.*, etc.

18. Batty, B. S., *op. cit.*, 23.

the needs of the diocese. The request that "the young man from Westminster" be investigated as a prospective candidate for the mission must have had a familiar ring to the officers of the Church Missionary Society for from every mission field came appeals for more staff to replace clergy going on furlough or retiring from the service, or to permit the work to be enlarged and expanded. Bishop Horden was equally concerned to secure a sufficiency of native clergy and clerical workers, for he considered that they possessed particular skills of great benefit to the work. An undated "Statement Regarding the Diocese of Moosonee" records his opinion that "In point of efficiency the Native Clergy are quite equal to the Europeans: in some respects they are inferior, but their deficiencies are more than counterbalanced by other qualities, not so well developed in Europeans: Mackay, Vincent & Sanders are men whose work could not have been done as well by ordinary Europeans."[19] Besides the ordained native clergy the bishop envisaged recruiting a large number of others "whose training would be confined to a thorough knowledge of the Bible and Prayer-books in their own language" to do their work amongst their own people, accompanying them on their wanderings and offering instruction even during the band's absence from the missions.[20] Something of this interest in training native teachers and clergy locally emerges in his complaint against the limited value to his diocese of the Moosonee Scholarship at St. John's College, Winnipeg.

References to money matters make several appearances in the bishop's vigorous but rambling report, for financing a multitude of essential activities was always difficult in a growing diocese where only limited contributions could be expected from the residents themselves. Over and above the ordinary operating expenses the bishop felt a need to collect a diocesan endowment that would supply a yearly income towards meeting the annual outlays and also relieve the Church Missionary Society of the burden of rendering aid and the diocese of dependence upon the Society's support and patronage.[21] However much they disliked the role of "mitred mendicants" (a term used by one of the Canadian bishops),[22] however much they doubted their fitness for the task of addressing English audiences, bishops of missionary sees were necessarily involved in securing aid from the Societies, striving to enlist the support of wealthy patrons, and addressing appeals to the public for donations and offerings either for their own missions or on behalf of the sponsoring Societies. Their furloughs and even their journeys were the occasion for much deputation work, for in view of the keen interest in Indians, Eskimos and Arctic exploration no speakers were so generally

19. C.M.S. Archives C/C1/1882 no. 37.
20. Batty, B. S., *op. cit.*, 77-8.
21. Bishop Horden's letter of Jan. 6, 1882 from Bath contains a lengthy, thoughtful discussion of the need to establish an endowment for the Diocese of Moosonee (C.M.S. Archives C/C1/1882 no. 25).
22. Heeney, W. B., ed., *op. cit.*, 219.

welcomed in the Mother Country as those who brought tidings of the progress of the Canadian missions.[23]

The originals of the letters are to be found in the Archives of the Church Missionary Society, 6 Salisbury Square, London E.C.4, and are reproduced here with the kind permission of Miss Rosemary Keen, Archivist. The Society's manuscripts relating to Canada have been microfilmed and are deposited in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Founded in 1799, the Society was one of a number of benevolent organizations established to assist the Church of England in its evangelistic work among non-Christian peoples overseas. To further this object the Society arranged for the recruitment and training of mission workers, published reports and journals that popularized the aims and achievements of the missions, and supplied funds for overseas work, which funds it obtained from well-disposed individuals, from affiliated diocesan and parish mission societies, and from general appeals like the annual Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions first proclaimed by the Archbishop of Canterbury on December 20, 1872. Though the main emphasis was upon work in Africa and the Far East, the Society also assisted two mission fields in British North America, the North-West America Mission, launched with the sending of aid to Rev. John West at Red River in 1822, and the North Pacific (later British Columbia) Mission, commenced by dispatching William Duncan to Fort Simpson in 1856.[24] Two large gifts, a legacy from Chief Factor James Leith and a donation by Miss Angela Burdett Coutts, went to endow the bishoprics of Rupert's Land (1849) and of British Columbia (1859),[25] and under the impetus of vigorous colonial bishops and with the encouragement and support of the Society the work was greatly expanded until the two bishoprics had grown into fourteen, several of which continued to receive aid from the Society as late as 1914.[26]

The purpose of the Church Missionary Society was to assist with missionary beginnings and the establishment of regular church institutions and organization. When churches had been placed upon a sound, self-sustaining basis, the Society aimed at withdrawing its support in order to confer it upon more needy fields of endeavour, all the more from a

23. Stock, E., *op. cit.*, II, 330-1: "No stories have interested missionary meetings like Red Indian stories. No deputations have been so attractive as the missionaries from the Far North. And then the great dark world reaps the benefit." Stock reports that Bishop Horden was an excellent fund-raiser for the C.M.S.

24. Stock, E., *op. cit.*, I, 245-6, 362-3 (for West); II, 612 etc. (for Duncan); II, 399 (for the Day of Intercession); also Hargrave, J. J. *Red River* (Toronto, 1871), 103-4.

25. Willson, B. *Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal* (1951), 21, and Hargrave, J. J. *op. cit.*, 110-11, for the Leith bequest; Peake, F. A. *The Anglican Church in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1959), 25, for the Burdett Coutts gift.

26. The sees were: from Rupert's Land—Moosonee, 1872; Athabasca, 1874; Saskatchewan, 1874; Qu'Appelle, 1884; Mackenzie River, 1884; Calgary, 1891; Selkirk (later Yukon), 1891; Keewatin, 1902; Edmonton, 1914. From British Columbia—New Westminster, 1879; Caledonia, 1879; Kootenay, 1912 (dates of the first bishops). In 1914 the C.M.S. was still expending £5,000 on the North-West America Mission (from a rate of £14,000 per annum in 1903)—Stock, E., *op. cit.*, IV, 382.

feeling that with religion, as with imperial relations, local self-government and national autonomy were the best conditions for further development. To hasten the day bishops were urged to build up endowments and to institute systems of voluntary giving among their parishioners, grants were reduced in gradual stages, and the Anglican community in Canada was exhorted to take more responsibility for supporting missionary labours within Canada. To the end that the mission fields might also become self-supporting as to personnel and able to secure their clergy at home, the Society aided the establishment of training colleges and extended grants to their students. From the commencement of the present century the Church Missionary Society began to curtail its role in the field of Canadian missions, while at the same time the Church of England in Canada assumed an ever-increasing share of the burden and through its own Missionary Society began to sustain considerable foreign missions in China, Japan and India[27]—dependent no longer, but full partners with the parent church in the work of spreading the word.

REV. HENRY NEVITT[28]

Moose Factory,
Via Lake Temiscamingue,
Ottawa River,
Canada
Septr. 18th 1882

Dear Mr. Wigram[29]

As a despatch of letters is leaving Moose for the south on Wednesday, I therefore take the opportunity of sending you a fuller account of my voyage from Stromness to Moose, as promised.

I enjoyed our visit to Stromness very much indeed; the people to whom we were introduced were so very kind to us. One day we devoted to visiting Kirkwall Cathedral, which is about 15 miles from Stromness; a gentleman kindly drove us there, and we rode back upon the "mail-cart". Altogether our visit at Stromness was quite a pleasant break in our voyage.

We sailed from Stromness on Saturday morning July 1st, and from that evening until nearly the end of the following week I suffered more or less from sea-sickness; this being the second time I suffered from it. But when I had recovered from it, I enjoyed the remainder of the voyage very much.

We had a very pleasant sail across the mighty Atlantic; only experiencing one storm, & that continued only for one night, dying away again the next days. A few days we had perfect calms; and, as a rule, on such days we had splendid sunsets, which were glorious sights to behold.

On July 26th we entered Hudson's Strait, thro' which we had a very slow sail, owing to the continual contrary winds which we experienced. We were 10 days going through, while a vessel with a fair wind will go through in 4 or 5 days. We did not

27. *Ibid.*, III, 616; IV, 19, 382; Turner, L. N., "The Anglican Church and its Missions" in *Canada and Its Provinces*, XI, 200, 245-6; *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Ottawa, 1957-8), article "Anglican Church", by R. S. K. Seeley.

28. The letters are found in C.M.S. Archives, C/C1/1880-1883, and are numbered as follows: 1882, no. 128 (Nevitt), 127 (Lofthouse), 126 (Peck), 122 (Horden). The first three bear the notation: "Rec. Oct. 30/82", Bishop Horden's "Rec. Oct. 21/82".

29. Rev. Frederick E. Wigram, to whom the letters are addressed, was a clergyman of Southampton who became Honorary Secretary of the C.M.S. in 1880 following the accidental drowning of Rev. Henry Wright, Hon. Sec. since 1872. Mr. Wigram retired from the Secretaryship in 1895 and died in 1897. (Stock, E., *op. cit.*, III, 36-7, 254, 260, 680, 798).

meet so much ice as sometimes; though some of the burghs were very large—quite a fine sight to see, as they floated gently & majestically along, like mountains.

On August 5th we entered Hudson's Bay, the last part of our journey, and I think also the most pleasant and enjoyable, for each day the weather now became warmer again, while on some days the sun was quite hot. We made very fair progress up the Bay; the distance is reckoned to be about 800 miles from where we entered to Moose and we did the distance in 11 days.

My Sundays during the voyage were very happy days; on seven out of the nine we were able to have a service, generally in the evening, as that was the most convenient time, & when the whole of the men could be present, except two, one being at the wheel & the other on watch. Sometimes Mr. Lofthouse took the address, and at other times I took it; we found that the men paid very great attention, and seemed to be willing to listen to God's Word. I trust that our efforts to lead them to their Saviour will not be in vain.

I devoted the time during the voyage, when I was well enough, principally to reading. Among the books which I read was the one you so kindly gave me—the life of the Rev. Hy. Venn;[30] I enjoyed it very much indeed, and longed to follow, tho' it might be only at a distance, in his footsteps. I also read the life of the Rev. Hy. Martyn,[31] in which I was deeply interested. And most days I did a little at my Cree grammar.

Every morning and evening Mr. Lofthouse and I set apart a time for the mutual reading, & meditating upon, of God's Words, and prayer together. Such seasons were very refreshing & enjoyable; and I often thanked our loving heavenly Father, for His great love & mercy in so ordering things that I should have a companion—and such a one as Mr. Lofthouse—during my voyage.

On Wednesday, August 16th our voyage came to an end; and in the afternoon of that day we landed at Moose (after a very pleasant little sail of 9 miles up the river), with my heart filled with gratitude to God for His many and great mercies & blessings during the voyage of 9 weeks & 1 day.

We received a very warm & hearty welcome from the gentlemen connected with the Company; also from Mr. Vincent and Mr. Peck. And thus, at last, by the grace of God, I found myself upon the field of my future labours, and where I trust & pray I may be made a blessing.

It is already just over a month since we landed; and I now feel nicely settled down in my new home, and am very happy and comfortable. I have made a little progress in the language; & shall be very thankful when I am able to talk and preach to the dear Indians.

I must thank you very much for your very kind letter, which I received when the Bishop arrived here, & a few days after we did: I trust that your prayers may be abundantly answered on my behalf.

With kind regards,
Believe me,
Yours faithfully
Hy. Nevitt.

The Rev. F. E. Wigram.

30. There were two Henry Venns, the first being a celebrated preacher and minister of Huddersfield, the second (his grandson), Hon. Sec. of the C.M.S. from 1841 to 1872 and member of the Committee from 1822. There are numerous biographies of the first and it seems likely Nevitt was reading one of these. It is possible, however, that his book was William Knight's "The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, B.D." published in London in 1880.

31. Henry Martyn was the first Englishman to volunteer for service under the C.M.S. However he went to India as East India Company chaplain in 1805, worked in India and Persia and died as a result of his sufferings at Tokat, Asia Minor, in 1812. Many biographies, based on his journals appeared in the years after 1818. Perhaps Nevitt was referring to Rev. C. D. Bell's *Henry Martyn*, published in London in 1882.

JOSEPH LOFTHOUSE

Moose Factory
August 22nd 1882

Dear Mr. Wigram

Having received instruction from Bishop Horden I will now give you some a/c of our journey out, & our kind reception at Moose Factory. The morning after leaving London we met with rather a severe gale, which tossed us about a little, but our God was with us and kept us perfectly safe. I suffered a little for a day or two from seasickness, but after that I enjoyed the run to Stromness very much indeed. After eight days we landed at Stromness, and spent one of the happiest weeks I have known in my life, every one whom we met was so very kind to us.

We left there on the first of July and had a very pleasant run across the Atlantic until within a short distance of Hudson straits, when we were shut in by dense fogs for four days, and unable to make much way, but again God was with us and kept us free from harm.

We had a rather difficult passage through the straits, being twelve days in passing through, we met with some large icebergs but passed them in perfect safety.

After entering the Bay, we had a very pleasant time and made way very well; we cast anchor twenty miles away from Moose on Tuesday afternoon the 15th inst. The following morning, the Pilot having come on board we sailed up the river to within nine miles of Moose, where the ship lies, as the river is too shallow for her to approach nearer.

We left the ship about four o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, and after a very pleasant sail landed about six; we were met by Mr. Broughton the gentleman in charge,[32] and a number of the company's officers, they received us very kindly. In a few minutes Mr. Vincent (who has had charge of the Mission during the last few months), accompanied by Mr. Peck (who has come from Little Whale river to meet me and take me back with him) met us, and took us to the Bishop's house where we had tea. The Bishop had not then arrived but came by canoe on Friday morning. I like Moose very much, it is a very pretty place, with its church standing out so nicely; there are a large number of Indians here now for the purpose of trading, etc. I have been to all the Indian services and enjoy them very much, it is grand to hear them sing praises & join in so beautifully in our grand old prayer book. Although one cannot understand what they say, heart answerth to heart, and one feels that they are brothers in Christ. Mr. Nevitt and myself, accompanied by Mr. Peck visited the Indians in their wigams, we met with a very warm reception from all & I was pleased with all I saw.

I hope to start on the 24th inst. with Mr. Peck for Little Whale River, we travel by canoe, so I shall soon enter upon my Missionary journeys. I find Mr. Peck a dear good man and hope to spend a very happy winter with him to the spiritual profit of both. I spoke to the Bishop about writing to you I was not sure whether I ought not to write to Mr. Fenn,[33] but the Bishop advised me to write to you. Will you kindly inform me about the matter.

The Bishop advised me also to ask if the Committee would kindly grant me a Medical chest (small one) for use at Churchill, to be sent out there next year; they have no Dr. at the Fort, so that it would be of great service to me.

Thanking you for all your kindness and praising God for His watchful care and tender mercies toward me I remain my dear sir Yours faithfully in Christ Jesus

J. Lofthouse

Rev. F. E. Wigram

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32. William K. Broughton, Bishop Horden's son-in-law, was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Albany and afterwards at Moose Factory. He was made a Chief Factor in 1893.

33. A natural enough supposition as the Rev. C. C. Fenn was Corresponding Secretary for Group I Missions (Ceylon, China, Japan, Canada) from 1880 to 1894. However missionary letters appear to have been addressed to Mr. Wigram as Honorary Secretary.

REV. EDMUND J. PECK

Edmund J. Peck
Moose. Augt. 22nd. 82

Revd. and dear Sir

I have just time to send you a few lines. I am delighted to have our brother Lofthouse with me for the coming Winter, and I trust God may bless us greatly, and give each of us much of his presence and help.

You see by my address that I am now at Moose. I thought it wise to come along to meet Mr. L. and to help him all I could. I hope D.V. to be able to assist him with the language while we are travelling to Little Whale River.

I am obliged to postpone my trip to Ungava Bay until next year, when I hope D.V. to reach that post, and if possible go to England from there. This can be easily arranged if I am in time for the vessel which goes to that post, but if I am not in time to catch her, I shall wait until the Autumn of the following year, and then go home by the Moose ship. I think I have made this subject a matter of deep prayer, and consideration, my isolated position, and the fact of my being troubled with a rather serious affection of the throat, these points lead me to think that a few months at home would not be time wasted, but would perhaps in the end be an advantage. If I do go home and if I am able to do anything for Jesus, especially amongst the poorer class of people, then you may be sure I shall be willing.

The good Bishop has just arrived amongst us as hale and hearty as ever. He was very warmly received and every one seemed glad to see him. I send through Bishop Horden my Annual letter, and Journal. The latter gives some information of visits made to the Esqx. and of my living with them in their snow houses. This, I think, will give a fair idea of an interesting portion of ones work. We are still very happy, and I hope very grateful to the Lord for what he is doing for the poor Esqxs. It is not the poor, feeble instrument that has done the work, but Jesus the sinner's friend. We often think of the poor Esqx. who are scattered over the frozen North and we long to see that something is being done in their behalf, but we are only commencing. There is very much to be done yet.

We start for Little Whale River as soon as possible so please excuse my [not] writing more at present. Before I close let me thank you heartily for your very kind wishes conveyed through our dear brother (Mr. Lofthouse). And now with most kind wishes believe me most sincerely,

Yours in the Lord Jesus, E. J. Peck.

BISHOP JOHN HORDEN[34]

Bishop's Court, Moose,
via Temiscamingue,
Ottawa River, Canada.
Aug. 28/82

My dear Mr. Wigram

Here I am once more at the old home, but I find it shorn of its poetry, the hard prose only remaining: however, I must make the best of things and endeavour to create another sort of poetry, the poetry of labour, the aim of which is further advancement in the moral and spiritual life of those committed to my charge.

My trip across the Atlantic was very pleasant; the vessel was a comparatively small one, with a small number of very agreeable passengers; we called at Queenstown, and I was just in time to preach in Canon Daunt's Church, where the congregation gave me the very liberal Offertory of £16: on the Sunday following I conducted two services on board. We had two deaths, a Jewish child and one of the sailors; I felt extremely sorry at not having been informed of the man's illness although it was only of short duration, knowing nothing about him until requested to take the funeral.

At New York the heat was fearful and almost everyone had gone to the seaside. I preached once on the Sunday I was there and addressed a body of school children,

34. (This letter was written with no apparent breaks for paragraphs. These have been added to assist the reader).

going into the country for a meeting on the following day: thence I went on to Montreal, where great disappointment was manifested at my inability to spend a Sunday there. I here saw that all my Church money was satisfactorily arranged and invested, and I consider myself extremely fortunate in securing the men I have done for my Co-trustees. I then went on to Ottawa in the hopes of seeing some of the members of the Cabinet and was not disappointed although Parliament was not in session. I preached in two Churches and had a Meeting at one of them on the Monday; Sir Leonard Tilley, the Finance Minister, an amiable, sensible man, and a good Churchman, was present at one of the Services and took the Chair at the Meeting; he promised to do all in his power for me in the removal of the heavy duties which now so sorely oppress the Mission. The Premier, Sir Jno. A. Macdonald, granted me an interview, and was most kind, telling me how to proceed, and giving me great hopes that at the next meeting of Parliament we shall be entirely relieved from our present burdens. You will perhaps be surprised to hear that the Electric Light is used in lighting the great saw mills here and is a complete success, the mills being beautifully illuminated, and the work carried on as energetically at night as during the day. One Sunday I spent in Toronto, and a few days with various friends who all gave me a kindly grumble at the shortness of my stay with them.

I had intended going to Moose by way of Michipicoten on Lake Superior, and had made arrangements for the trip, when I was informed that it was inadvisable for me to go by that route as the measles were very bad at Michipicoten, and that therefore it was well that there should be no communication between the two places; I was then obliged to go by way of Mattawa, Temiscamingue and Abbitibbee. I got to Mattawa by rail: how different from what it was fifteen years ago when I took my wife and two youngest children by this route to Moose; then our canoe voyage began a hundred miles below, and however I got them through I cannot imagine, for had I had the least idea of the difficulties of the way, I never would have exposed them to the severe hardships they had to endure: but they were mercifully preserved, and we reached Moose in safety. The route to Michipicoten is not much more than half the length, and the portages are neither as long or rugged.

Fifteen years ago Mattawa consisted of three houses: it has now a settled population of five hundred and a floating one of double that number, with fine shops, several hotels and a thriving trade, with the Canadian Pacific Railway running through it. The rapidity with which this work is progressing is most astonishing, and if insuperable difficulties are not experienced in making the line north of Lake Superior, I think it will be entirely completed in four or five years, if not in less. From Mattawa I got on to Temiscamingue, the heat very great, rising as high as 110° in the shade. On the large lake which bears that name a steamer has recently been placed which I saw having in tow a raft containing 40,000 logs. About two thirds of the way up the lake the H.B.C. have an establishment, as have likewise the R. Catholics: the whole of the country here about is under their control and they traverse it for hundreds of miles in every direction, no Protestant Mission whatever having been established among the Indians along the whole course of the Ottawa. From Temiscamingue I went on to Abbitibbee, a hard piece of travel with a number of difficult portages, with the heat in general very great, yet one night I was several times awoke by the severe cold. At Abbitibbi I remained a day and a half and then pushed on towards Moose, spending one night at Long Portage House where I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and baptized an Infant; three days more brought me home, where the welcome I received was almost overpowering, young and old, high & low testifying their great joy in seeing me once more among them. My canoe journey was 700 miles in length and occupied me eighteen days.[35]

I found the ship already here and Messrs. Nevitt and Lofthouse landed. Messrs. Peck and Vincent were likewise here, so we formed quite a strong body. Mr. Vincent, although suffering grave anxieties on account of his wife's state of health at Albany, has been indefatigable in his labour here, and was able to present 45 young Indians for Confirmation last Sunday. Dean Peck looks somewhat worn, and has, I think,

35. Batty, B. S., *op. cit.*, contains another, more highly coloured account of this journey, pages 116-125.

exposed himself a little too much in his willingness to endure hardness in his Master's cause. We could not long remain together, for Peck and Lofthouse had a long and arduous journey before them, so commending them to God, we sent them away last Thursday. The weather is glorious, the wind is fair, and I expect that by this evening they will have passed Sherrick's Mount on the E. Main Coast.[36] Further intercourse with Lofthouse has convinced me that I could not have had a better man for the particular work to which he has been called.

N.B. Kindly order a good Norwegian house for Lofthouse, to be sent to Churchill by next year's ship: I gave the dimensions to Dickeson before leaving England. *N.B. N.B.*[37]

Our three services on my first Sunday were all crowded, and last Sunday at the early Indian service I confirmed 45 persons, while in the afternoon the church would not hold all who assembled for worship; an enlargement must take place, and that immediately: at the Eng. and Ind. services we administered the Lord's Supper to 72 Communicants, our Offertory being £7.10.10: it was a most blessed day. The Indians here are rapidly increasing, and the number of our young men is large: this is accounted for by the joint benefits of Christianity and of better remuneration for the furs they collect in the hunting season, while they are protected from the evils of intemperance by there being no sale of any intoxicating drink.

Mr. Nevitt has made a very good impression here, and I am much pleased with him, he is busy studying the Indian language, and I hope that by the end of next week he will be able to take a small part in our Indian services: he can't begin too soon. I have not seen Sanders yet,[38] but I received an excellent letter from him last evening giving some account of his arduous labours: most of the Summer he has been at Flying Post, where he has just completed a commodious Church, which he hopes to go, that is from Matawakumma, three days distance, & where he now is, and open on Sep. 10th: he will then come down to Moose, but will start almost immediately for Brunswick, twelve days distant, whence he will return to Moose. There he will spend the winter, assisting me in my Ojibbeway translations, and improving himself in his Biblical and other studies. His wife and children have spent the Summer here. Mr. Vincent leaves for Albany on Thursday, and I go there sometime next week, accompanying a beloved daughter[39] and her three young sons, as her husband will still be detained at Moose, of which he is in charge during the temporary absence of Mr. Cotter, who has taken two of his sons to Canada to place them to a higher school than we yet possess at Moose.

There is, I believe, a Moosonee scholarship connected with the College of St. John's, Manitoba; could that not be transferred to Moose. Manitoba is too far from Moose, and the only benefit I have derived from the scholarship is that Sanders was at the College a year, and to send him forward and backward it cost me twice the value of the Scholarship.

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36. Presumably the 500-foot hill some twenty miles north of Rupert's House described by Borron as "the most prominent object, if not the highest hill, on this part of the coast". (Ontario. *Sessional Papers*, 1881, no. 44, 55-6).

37. The materials were not delivered to Fort Churchill until 1885 and the house was only erected in 1886. The Hudson's Bay Company advised against sending the lumber in 1883 on the grounds that there was no one to erect the building at Churchill. Its main objection, however, was that a missionary family would impose too great a burden on (or be endangered by reason of) the limited, uncertain food resources of the locality which sometimes had to supply the requirements of Company ships' crews from vessels frozen-in for the winter. Finally the lumber was delivered by the steamer *Alert* under charter by the Canadian Government for the Hudson Straits Expedition, commnder Lieut. A. R. Gordon. (C.M.S. Archives C/C1/1883, nos. 28, 56, 125; Lofthouse, J., *op. cit.*, 51, 55, 58).

38. John Sanders, a native clergyman, was the missionary to the Ojibway of Matawakumma from 1876 and was ordained by Bishop Horden in 1886. Following completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway he also served the settlers of the railway and lumbering communities and by 1890 was making his headquarters at Biscotasing. See C.M.S. *Register of Missionaries*, 332 (no. 240), also C.M.S. *Extracts from the Annual Letters* for varous years.

39. Mrs. Broughton.

All things considered, I think we may be deeply thankful for the state of the Mission. I hear that some matters in the Rupert's River district are not quite satisfactory, but on the whole things are quite equal to what I could have at all expected: Mr. Keen,[40] poor fellow, did his duty in a most consciencious manner, and I am deeply sorry that his one act should have deprived me of his valuable services, where they were so much needed too. it will be a very long time before Mr. Nevitt will be able to adequately fill his place. Could you kindly tell me anything of the young man from Westminster, whose letter I sent you? if a suitable man I should be very glad to get him.

I intend, D.V., to spend Xmas at Albany, where Mr. Vincent will have many candidates for Confirmation, and next Summer, after Mr. Lofthouse has left for York, to go through the Rupert's R. district: this is a very arduous journey. it will occupy me until well on in the Autumn: the night is coming on, when I shall not be able to work. My Xtian love to Mrs. Wigram and family as well as to Mrs. Wright,[41] to whom kindly read this letter, and family, and Believe me,

Yours most faithfully,
Jno. Moosonee

40. Rev. J. H. Keen had studied at the C.M.S. College, Islington, before going to Moose Factory in 1875. Whatever may have been the cause of his abrupt departure (and the bishop's failure to return in the spring of 1881 as arranged may have played some part) his lapse was not held as a serious mark against him. Keen held curacies in London between 1882 and 1890 and then rejoined the C.M.S., working with the Haida Indians at Massett, Queen Charlotte Islands, until his retirement in 1914.

41. Presumably the widow of Rev. Henry Wright, Hon. Sec. from 1872 to 1880 and an indefatigable supporter of the North American missions.

THE ORGANIZATION OF UPPER CANADIAN REFORMERS 1818—1867[1]

By Eric Jackson

The half-century before Confederation was an age of organization. One only has to leaf through the journals of the period to see it; in almost every issue can be found a report of a meeting or the formation of some society, league, association or organization. Some organized to fight Satan in his alcoholic form; others organized to abolish slavery; some organized to "promote education and industry" among the Indians and destitute settlers; others organized to aid the poor; discontented townspeople organized in an attempt to remedy their grievances; those with a benevolent nature organized to do good. In fact it seemed the most obvious course to take, if there was a cause to be fought, for all those who were interested to work together in some type of association. If the cry of the individual was weak and ineffective that of the organized group might find a receptive audience.

Those people known as Radicals or Reformers[2] came to realize that they too must organize if they were to achieve their goals. One of the first and most significant attempts to organize in the cause of reform was made under the guidance of that impetuous Scot, Robert Fleming Gourlay. Gourlay is notorious for a number of reasons, but he is rarely, if ever, recognized as the man who gave to Upper Canadian Reformers their first systematic organization on a provincial scale.

Gourlay came to the Province in 1817 and before long his critical mind had found much to feed on. One of the first objects of his disapproval was the land and immigration policy of the colonial government. Motivated by private and public interest he immediately set out to assail those whom he felt were responsible for the mismanagement. He soon found, especially after he had made an extensive inquiry, that others had similar feelings. He found also that they had grievances relating not

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1. This article is based on a graduate paper written during the 1958-59 term at the University of Toronto. It is merely a preliminary examination of a large, unexplored subject, attempting to show that Reformers organized collectively and systematically as early at least as 1818, and to indicate what machinery was established at various times up to 1867. It does not pretend to deal fully with the subject even within the defined limits. The reader would do well to keep in mind Professor Butterfield's axiom that "all history perpetually requires to be corrected by more history".

2. It is, of course, difficult to date the first Reformer; and it is equally difficult to date the appearance of the Reform party. One writer who has studied political unrest in Upper Canada in some detail uses 1815 as a starting point, although some of the roots of the Reform party could undoubtedly be found earlier. About that time certain people came to be identified as Reformers or Radicals even if they were not to be recognized as a group for several years. In any case, there were Reformers before there was a Reform party. Similarily, the organization of Reformers is antecedent to the organization of the Reform party. Both will be dealt with here, but no attempt will be made to esablish the transition point.

only to land and immigration policies but to a number of other matters as well. He made appeals for an investigation of the situation but nothing came of them. Deciding than that mere talk was not enough he changed his tactics.

In his third address[3] to the resident landowners on April 2, 1818, Gourlay enunciated his plan for the organization of support throughout the Province, the aim of which was to be the drafting of a grand petition to be sent to the Prince Regent. Gourlay suggested that a meeting should be held in every organized township in the Province. These meetings were to choose a clerk or secretary and a representative. The latter were to attend district meetings at which petitions would be drafted. And this activity was to culminate in a provincial convention at which the various district representatives would make the final arrangements before sending the petition to England.[4]

All went well for some time. Gourlay took the first step by holding a meeting in the township of Niagara on April 13. Other township and district meetings followed throughout the Province and on July 6 the provincial convention, the "Upper Canadian Convention of Friends to Inquiry", was held at York. Fourteen people representing seven districts attended.

But the activity of the previous weeks frightened the colonial officials. Gourlay had demanded action in unequivocal language. When action was taken, however, it was not the sort that Gourlay had anticipated. A bill prohibiting unauthorized conventions was passed, and by the end of the year his organization had been effectively "gagged". The following summer Gourlay, somewhat the worse for his escapade, was banished from the Province.

Gourlay was not long in Upper Canada; but what he did while he was there gave him some fame. In fact he became recognized later as the first martyr to the cause of reform. He was, then, clearly related to others who were to fight for what he had fought in the years that followed. His experiment in organization was, therefore, significant. His system was provincial in extent. It was organized on three interrelated levels in pyramidal form, at the apex of which was the central provincial body. The subdivision and the intercommunication that the structure allowed facilitated management and effective action. Although it was, by design, a temporary arrangement for a specific purpose its basic features were to be incorporated into later schemes. In a way, then,

3. *Chronicles of Canada: being a record of Robert Gourlay esq., now Robert Fleming Gourlay, "the banished Briton", . . . no. 1, Concerning the Convention and gagging law, 1818, Mr. Gourlay's arrest and trial, &c., &c.* (St. Catherines, 1842), 1-3.

4. "All organizations need funds", Sir Richard Cartwright once remarked. Gourlay's enterprise was no exception. Each supporter was required to pay a fee of one dollar, one-seventh of which was to be kept by the township committee, the remainder going to the district association.

Gourlay created the model after which subsequent Reform organization in Upper Canada was to be constructed.

As the years went by issues naturally arose which led to a sharper division between those who clung to the *status quo* and those who sought reform. There was a desire in both groups to find means which would further their cause in the most effective manner. Sometime during the 'twenties, for example, a Reform organization called the Constitutional Society of Upper Canada was established.[5] At the same time an embryonic form of electoral organization began to appear. As the distinction between those who were for reform and those who were against it grew, it became important to make a similar distinction between parliamentary candidates. Earlier, before party lines had developed, party considerations would naturally have little or no bearing on nominations, and candidates probably conducted their campaigns with limited assistance. Later this was not the case. Reformers became anxious to place in the Legislative Assembly candidates who would support Reform principles. On November 10, 1827, for example, at a "public meeting" in York, a committee of twenty-five people was appointed "to nominate a *fit* candidate", to take steps to have him approved at a public convention and, if approved, to assist him in his campaign.[6] But this gathering was something less than a public meeting. It was, in fact, Reform or Radical in composition, with men like Ketchum, Morrison, Collins and Mackenzie present. And the meeting had been called to nominate a candidate to oppose J. B. Robinson (then representing York) because they were not satisfied that Robinson was "sufficiently independent of government support nor free from executive influence to discharge the duty of a Representative of the people in the Province".

Similar measures were taken in Durham the following month. Early in December a meeting was held in Port Hope "for the purpose of deciding on the choice of two fit persons to represent the County of Durham in the next ensuing parliament and with a view of preventing any unnecessary expense or violence of contest".[7] Township committees were to be formed and the names of candidates submitted. These committees were then to meet in the form of a county committee to decide which two candidates should be chosen. This being done it was decided "to *concentrate the independent interest*[8] in favour of the two having, apparently, the greatest number of suffrages".

Division and organization even appeared in municipal politics. At a weekly meeting of an association called the Constitutional Reform

5. This society was undoubtedly intended to be an instrument to publicize and forward Reform principles. Contemporary journals, however, had little to say about it. It is referred to in the *Colonial Advocate*, March 13, 1828.

6. *Colonial Advocate*, November 22, 1827. My italics.

7. *Canadian Freeman*, December 13, 1827.

8. This was one of the terms by which the early Reformers identified themselves.

Society[9] held in Toronto on November 25, 1834, it was decided that "in order to secure the Election of Independent Reformers, Friends of economy and Retrenchment, as members of the Corporation of this city" committees should be set up in the various wards to nominate "fit" candidates and to canvass in their support.[10]

Organization for the purpose of petitioning (following Gourlay's example) was also common. In the summer of 1831 the *Colonial Advocate* contained, for example, the following notice: "The York General Committee hereby give notice to the members of township committees in the Home District, that the petitions entrusted to them to obtain the signatures of the people in their respective neighbourhoods ought to be returned to the General Committee at York, . . . "[11] This committee had been established to solicit support for a petition or petitions which would contain all the current grievances.[12] It soon reached out into other districts under the guidance of Mackenzie, whose faith in the power of organized public opinion was great. "Believing . . . that now is the time", the *Colonial Advocate* wrote, "to obtain for Upper Canada practical recognition of the established constitution, and entirely convinced that UNION and ORGANIZATION will soon effect that most desirable object Mr M[ackenzie] respectfully makes known his intention . . . of visiting in succession every county and district in the colony; . . . ".[13]

But while there were sporadic attempts to organize Reform sentiment there was no system which was both provincial and permanent. This deficiency came to be realized by many people including one Reformer of the Niagara District who felt that,

> . . . there is a great errour [*sic*] committed every day by *Reformers*, every one is fighting upon his own hook—there is no general place of action, we have no rallying point, *our* forces are scattered, while those of the enemy present a uniform and unbroken front, always acting in concert ready upon every emergency to unite at any given point to beat down *Reformers*, and they will always succeed depend upon it, if we do not act more in concert in the great cause of freedom! I am ready to second any plan that will be likely to promise success.—A Grand Provincial Convention—I approve of it.[14]

The following year action along these lines was finally taken.

Late in December, 1834, A. N. Buell, a Brockville Reformer, received a circular from Mackenzie containing the objects and rules of the Canadian Alliance Society which had been established at Toronto on Decem-

9. This may have been the association mentioned earlier. The names are slightly different, but it was not uncommon for such names to have a number of variations. A Reform organization established two years later was also called the Constitutional Reform Society; there was, however, no direct relation between the two.

10. *Correspondent and Advocate*, November 27, 1834.

11. *Colonial Advocate*, August 25, 1831.

12. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1831.

13. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1831.

14. Quoted in *Colonial Advocate*, December 21, 1833.

ber 9.[15] He was only one of a number of people to receive this circular, for Mackenzie, as Corresponding Secretary of the Society, had been instructed to send one to Reformers in all corners of the Province. The new organization explained itself when, on December 24 it published an "Appeal to the People".[16] It was necessary, it proclaimed, for "every true friend to free institutions interesting himself without delay in the organization and support of branch societies auxiliary to that which the four members for the county of York and several hundred inhabitants of Toronto uniting with them in sentiment, have recently formed".[17] Following a discussion and condemnation of everything considered by Reformers to be an abuse, the address went on to assert that the only way the poor man could make his wants known or his rights respected was to support the Society by establishing branches. The objects of the Society were said to be "honourable and patriotic", its means "legal and constitutional". And it was alleged to be an egalitarian and open society.[18]

All persons entering the society, either through one of the branches or the central association, were required to sign a declaration of agreement with the principles by which the Reformers (or radical Reformers) of this period are usually identified. To win their recognition was the *raison d'être* of this organization and its fundamental task. Two, three or more branches could be established in any village, town or township, depending on the conditions and each branch was to be known by the name and number which were assigned to it by the central association. Members were allowed to bring their friends and relations to branch meetings and in particular, they were "earnestly invited to bring their female relations to the lectures as a means of interesting them in the success of the association and the promoting of its measures . . . ."[19] The token of fellowship in the Society was a letter of admission signed by the President and Corresponding Secretary of the central association;

15. *W. L. Mackenzie Papers*, Ontario Archives, Mackenzie to A. N. Buell, December 15, 1834. This association was known by several titles: "Canadian Alliance Society", "Reform Alliance Society", "Canadian Alliance", "Toronto Reform Society". Its motto, "When bad men conspire, good men must unite", might have been the motto of any Reform organization of the period and, indeed, of the century. It sums up, in a way, the reason why many Reformers felt it necessary to organize.

16. Quoted in *Correspondent and Advocate*, December 24, 1834.

17. Whether this was the same, or was in any way related to the Toronto Society referred to in footnote 9, is not clear.

18. It is significant that the "Appeal" referred to the "Gagging bill" which thwarted Gourlay in 1818. A similar situation might have arisen, it was thought, had the Society been established during the previous (Tory) Parliament; now, however, it would "strengthen the hands of a liberal parliament . . . ." The reference to Gourlay suggests that the Reformers of 1834 had his system in mind when they established The Canadian Alliance.

19. Mackenzie wrote a few explanatory paragraphs on the back of the circular which he sent to Buell (see n. 15.). There he suggested, tongue in cheek, that there was some relation between the statement that this was not to be a secret society and the provision allowing women to attend its meeting. " . . . it may be distinguished from secret meetings", Mackenzie wrote, "[partly] by the mark that *women may* be present . . ." Any society, Mackenzie cynically implied, that admitted women, could not possibly be secret.

on presenting this letter any member could be admitted to the meetings of any branch.

The Corresponding Secretary of the central association was to correspond by circular once a month, or weekly if possible, with each branch, conveying to them the proceedings of the central association and any other pertinent political information. The Secretary of each branch was instructed to send to the central association a monthly financial statement along with the balance of the funds and these were "to be applied in defraying expenses and to purposes of general utility under the direction of the Society". He was also expected to inform the central association of the political feeling of his neighbourhood, of "the causes of divisions and discontents—the difficulties Reformers have to contend with—the grievances most felt and complained of by the people and of such other facts as would best serve to give the Toronto Society (and thro' it all the others) a correct view of the state of public feeling in that neighbourhood". Three members of each branch and of the central association were to be chosen each year as "managers". They had to collect "subscriptions in aid of the objects of the association, and to be active, vigilant and unwearied in their efforts to carry those objects into effect". Together with the President and Secretary they were to form a "confidential Committee of public safety" in their respective areas and were to correspond, when circumstances demanded it, with the Secretary of the central association.

The central Board in Toronto consisted of James Lesslie, President; J. E. Tims and John McIntosh, Vice-Presidents; W. L. Mackenzie, Corresponding Secretary; T. Parson(s), Secretary; M. McLellan, Treasurer. Managers were T. D. Morrison, William O'Grady and Joseph Turton. John Rolph, M. S. Bidwell and J. E. Small were solicitors for the Society. Hume and Roebuck were its agents in England; O'Connell was the agent in Ireland. Others were located in Montreal, Quebec, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and New Brunswick.

This was an ambitious plan and must have gone far beyond anything conceived by the anxious Niagara Reformer. It was at once local and had at the same time, international pretensions. It went far afield to tap its resources—from the "female relations" of unknown sympathizers in remote Upper Canadian settlements to the great Reformers of the mother country. The system was expected to be an instrument of unification. In fact Mackenzie saw it as the only hope for what he called "this party of ours in U.C.". Each branch could communicate with the others and all with the central association.[20] The latter was to be the

20. The integration of all the parts of the organization was to be achieved partly by the transmission of correspondence from the branches to the central association from which significant general information would in turn be sent to all branches and partly by the provision which made the members of any one branch members of all others. While this organization had some of the characteristics of Gourlay's organization, it was not representative in structure. Gourlay arranged his organization on different levels, each consisting of representatives of the level immediately below. But in this system the central committee existed independently of the branches below.

heart of the system; it was to control the branches and give them life. The arrangement by which it was to receive communications from the branches, each of which was like a barometer registering the political pressure in its locality, and relay information to all branches, made it possible for each to know the situation which the others faced. This meant that Reformers in all parts of the Province could be made aware of common problems—problems which could be solved most effectively by concerted action.

The "Appeal to the People" had expressed the hope that before the new House met early in January over two hundred branches would have been established.[21] This was significant for without branches the Society could hardly justify its existence. One of the first established was that in the township of Albion where, in the words of the report, "Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, there were 200 to 300 of the members in attendance".[22] In the months following others were established; by May, 1835, the columns of the *Correspondent and Advocate* had recorded the formation of at least seventeen branches.[23] But seventeen was far off two hundred. The *Correspondent and Advocate* may not have been thorough in its reporting of the progress of the Society, however, for, in a letter to its editor in May, Mackenzie indicated that by that time 104 branches had been established.[24] This was only a little more than half the number anticipated; yet, if what Mackenzie said was true, and there is little reason to believe that it was not, this was still a considerable number.

But if one were attempting to assess the strength and political significance of the Society a number of other factors would have to be taken into consideration. For example, how large were the branches and how were they distributed throughout the Province? A survey of those branches listed reveals that membership rarely went over one hundred and was usually under fifty, and that they were concentrated largely in the Toronto area. Without going further it is clear that the society was far from what its founders imagined it would be.

Clearly the Canadian Alliance was not as successful as it might have been. Dent says, "Neither the platform of this society nor the mode of conducting it was such as to recommend it to Reformers generally,

21. In his letter to Buell, Mackenzie pointed out that it was a simple matter to establish a branch society. All that was necessary were "the signatures of a few reformers who think alike". And the only test required was "an approbation of the views of the society".

22. Quoted in the *Correspondent and Advocate*, January 1, 1835.

23. *Ibid.*, December, 1834—May, 1835, *passim*. These were in Albion, King and Tecumseth, Pelham (3) Hope, Norwich, Trafalgar, Bertie, Chinguacousy, Toronto (township), Edwardsburg, Esquesing, Welland, Yarmouth, Caledon, and Whitchurch and King. I say seventeen, but I offer the number with some hesitation since references to branches in the journal are frequently confusing. Most of the branches were established in January. In a cursory examination of the *Correspondent and Advocate*, after May I could not find that any other branches had been formed.

24. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1835. Mackenzie referred to the Caledon branch as "Branch no. 104". He did not list the others.

. . . ."[25] To be sure, in leadership and policy it represented the radical wing of the Reform movement. It sought the type of reform that men like Mackenzie, Lesslie, Morrison and O'Grady, who were its leaders, campaigned for. Such an organization as this could hope for little support from men like the Baldwins and those who followed them. Mackenzie and the rest may have realized this as they anxiously watched the development of their society. This may have led them to a modification which would bring to the Society wider support; for, as Dent goes on to say, "it was now deemed advisable to organize a new association on a broader basis, ..."[26]

Now the elder Baldwin, who had never been a member of the Canadian Alliance, was approached, and he consented to become president of a new society.[27] The official birthday of the new organization was on May 30, 1836, when, at "a public meeting of the Reformers of the City of Toronto", it was resolved:

That the extraordinary position of our political affairs and the arbitrary proceedings of the provincial administration since the present Lieut. Governor assumed the reigns [*sic*] of Government, . . . call imperatively upon every subject . . . who values his civil or religious privileges to unite as one man to secure and maintain them and that in order therefore to accomplish this important end, this meeting, do resolve itself into a society to be called the 'Constitutional Reform Society of Upper Canada'.[28]

But this is as uninformative as Dent's remarks. Exactly what changes were made in policy or in method of organization is not clear. In a sheet published by the Society shortly before the 1836 election the Reformers of the Province were asked to support those candidates who, as members of the last Parliament, supported the Reform cause.[29] Yet there was no indication of the means they were to use. There was no suggestion that they should work through those branches of the Canadian Alliance Society which had been established nor any suggestion that a new method of organizing had been developed.

What changes there were, if any, failed to bring success to Reformers in the election. Smarting from defeat the St. Thomas *Liberal* wrote to the *Correspondent and Advocate* in August. "We earnestly recommend", the letter read,

the friends of good government—of every county, town and township in the Province to organize themselves, without loss of time, into one

25. John Charles Dent, *The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion* (Toronto, 1885), I, 326.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Baldwin "lately consented, when the Canadian Alliance Society agreed to resolve itself into the British Constitutional Reform Society, to become its president, ..." *Correspondent and Advocate*, July 20, 1836.

28. Quoted in *ibid.*, June 1, 1836. The Executive Committee of the new society still contained a number of the leaders of the old one. In addition to W. W. Baldwin it consisted of Jesse Ketchum, W. J. O'Grady, T. D. Morrison, J. H. Price, James Lesslie and Francis Hincks.

29. *The Supplies. The Constitutional Reform Society of Upper Canada to their Fellow-Reformers* (n.p., n.d.).

great and compact Reform association . . . . The organization should commence at the Metropolis, and we answer for it, the London and Western Districts will do their duty . . . .[30]

Whether it was intentional or not this amounted almost to a motion of want of confidence in both the Alliance and its successor and their sponsors. But the men at the Metropolis were obviously not pleased either, for the *Correspondent and Advocate*, the editor of which was O'Grady, replied that organization or reorganization had started "some weeks ago" and that "the Constitution of the Society which is already completed and approved of, will be transmitted to the various branches with as little delay as possible".[31] It is difficult to determine what society the *Correspondent and Advocate* was referring to. The evidence suggests that it was the Constitutional Reform Society, but the *Liberal* seems to have been aware, indeed must have been aware of this Society when it sent its letter to Toronto.

Whatever the answer the Constitutional Reform Society had a short life, for at a meeting held in Toronto on October 10, and chaired by W. W. Baldwin, a series of resolutions was unanimously adopted "containing a plan for the *organization* of Political Unions throughout the Province . . . ."[32] Before the meeting had ended "The City of Toronto Political Union" had been established with W. W. Baldwin as its President[33] and a committee had been chosen to communicate with other Reformers throughout the Province.

The relation of this new association to the Constitutional Reform Society is far from clear. Only a few months earlier the latter had replaced, in name at least, the Alliance. Now the Constitutional Reform Society was being replaced by an entirely new organization.[34] It may be that the defeat in June, and perhaps the influence of Baldwin, resulted in a movement for re-organization on a completely new basis. Certainly one of the reasons for the creation of the Constitutional Reform Society had been directly related to the election. Actually the new scheme was intended to serve two purposes, one immediate, the other long-term. In the words of the *Correspondent and Advocate* the objects of the Union were the creation of,

a fund for the purpose of forwarding by all constienal [constitutional] and peaceable means, the great cause of Reform, by obtaining a responsible form of Government in this Province as well as to 'drag into day light' facts connected with the *unconstitutional interference* by the Executive in the exercise of the Elective Franchise at the late Elections.[35]

30. Quoted in the *Correspondent and Advocate*, August 3, 1836.
31. *Ibid.*, August 10, 1836.
32. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1836.
33. Other members of the Executive were John Elliott, T. D. Morrison, John McIntosh, J. E. Small, Peter Freeland, William Lesslie and Francis Hincks.
34. Despite the projected organization of the new system, there is evidence that suggests the Constitutional Reform Society was still in existence as late as February, 1837. See *Correspondent and Advocate*, February 15, 1837.
35. *Correspondent and Advocate*, October 19, 1836.

At the meeting on October 10 the plans for the new organization were set out in detail.[36] They provided for the creation of a network of branch societies throughout the Province, all of which were to form a "Political Union of Upper Canada"—"after the manner of our fellow-subjects in England". One branch was to be established in each township, city and town in the Province. Each branch was expected to collect and record the names of every person in its locality entitled to vote, with notes on property qualification. They were to aid in detecting electoral corruption "whether affected by the presumptious voting of unqualified persons, or the influence of direct bribery by money, intimidation, or promise of private advantage". They were to encourage people to defend their rights, "to save their candidate from expense" and generally to assist them in any way they could. One member of each local union was to sit on the County Committee, which consisted solely of these local representatives. The County Committees were to receive reports from the local unions, digest them and pass the information along to the Metropolitan Committee. They were to assist at elections on behalf of the Reform candidates, doing such work as the superintending of the poll, watching for illegal practices perpetrated against Reform candidates, making a note of such practices and reporting them to the Metropolitan Committee so that they could be used as evidence in the Assembly. The County Committees were each to be represented on the Metropolitan Committee by one member. It was the latter's function, after receiving the reports from the County Committees, to answer them, making decisions and suggestions. The officer of both the Metropolitan Committee and the local union, were to be elected annually; among those of the latter was to be included a "travelling Secretary or Notary". All the executive members of the central committee had to be "members of some one of the Political Unions". Each member was to pay a fee of 3s. 9d., to be divided equally among the local, county and Metropolitan committees. And finally, each member was to pledge to protect the franchise by opposition to corruption and to work for the achievement of a responsible Executive Council, the control of the public revenue on the principles of English government, an elective Legislative Council and non-interference by the Imperial Parliament in local matters.

Several significant features stand out from the details of this plan. First, there was an obvious attempt to place the whole scheme squarely in the British political tradition—from the form of organization to the principles that the Union was formed to promote. American influence and republican or ultra-democratic ideas were minimized. This change may indicate the less radical character of this organization, the influence of Baldwin and, perhaps, an attempt to avoid disloyalty charges of the sort flung at Reformers in the late election. The detailed instructions

36. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1836.

for election organization was an innovation. Before only vague suggestions had been made concerning this aspect of organization. But when the smoke had cleared after the 1836 election defeated Reformers realized that success depended on close attention to all facets of electioneering. Speech-making and the frenzy of the hustings was only one part of the task. The appeal of party policy meant nothing if the apparatus of organization could not bring the right voter to the right poll at the right time. Provisions for a specific fee were also made; this was undoubtedly related to the suggestion that the unions should attempt to "save their candidates from expense". At a time when it was within the realm of possibility for a candidate to spend himself into bankruptcy during an election this was surely a significant measure. The office of travelling secretary, perhaps an expansion of the old office of manager, seems to fore-shadow the party organizer—a development of the second half of the century. And there was, finally, a return to the representative system of organization. The society was to consist of three integrated levels such that no one level was independent of the others. When Dent remarked that the mode of conducting the Alliance met with dissatisfaction he may have been referring to the fact that its organization was somewhat centralized, which irritated many Reformers.

In spite of this reorganization and reorientation the response was not encouraging.[37] At a meeting of the Toronto Political Union on March 27, 1837, an appeal was made for increased membership and united action. Further, a resolution was passed to form a committee to report to the Reformers of the Province and calling for a provincial "Convention of Delegates".[38] Obviously the Toronto Reformers were growing impatient at the lack of enthusiasm throughout the Province. This was true at least of one Reformer who seemed incapable of enduring apathy. In his *Constitution* on July 19, Mackenzie published "The Leading Features of a Project for Uniting and Organizing the Reformers of Upper Canada as a Political Union, for the establishment of the Constitution on the broad basis of civil and religious liberty and equal rights". There was little that was new in this plan which seems to have been sponsored at first independently by Mackenzie. There were to be the usual integrated branches arranged on a number of levels at the top of which was a central committee. But one new feature appeared in the old formula. Mackenzie thought that this organization "could be easily transferred without change of its structure to military purposes". He was quick, however, to add that this was not the real object. Rather, "our object is of a purely civil nature, and confined to the embodying and expression of public opinion, in the 1st instance". Time was to make a liar of Mackenzie.

37. By May, 1837 the *Constitution* had referred to only two branches—the Upper Chinguacousy and Lower Caledon Political Union and the Political Union of the townships of Westminster. See the *Constitution*, May 10, 1837.

38. See *Constitution*, April 12, 1837.

On July 28 there was a meeting in Toronto of what the *Constitution* called the "Friends of Reform".[39] Here Mackenzie's plan of July 19 was adopted. The only evidence offered by the *Constitution* to suggest that there was any official relation between this meeting and the Toronto Political Union was that John Elliott was secretary of both.

John Doel's brewery was the rendezvous for the next meeting on July 31.[40] A declaration of grievances[41] and Mackenzie's plan of organization were adopted. It was decided that the branch unions (when they were formed) were to appoint delegates to a provincial convention at which the condition of the Province would be considered. There was also provision made for a joint convention with the Reformers of Lower Canada. And finally, a Committee of Vigilance was appointed "to carry into immediate and practical effect the resolutions of this meeting for the effectual organization of the Reformers of Upper Canada".[42]

The pages of the *Constitution* between July and September refer to at least twenty-one meetings either planned or held.[43] Lindsey says, however, that by early December over two hundred meetings had been held and 150 branch unions formed,[44] but he gives neither a list nor the source of his figures. Whatever the number, the convention was never held. The metamorphosis that Mackenzie had referred to on July 19 took place and by December his 'organization' was serving "military purposes".[45]

Although Reformers did not organize again provincially until 1844 the post-Rebellion years saw a good deal of activity at the local level. There were nomination conventions such as the one that was held on October 17, 1840 to nominate a Reform candidate for the south riding of Lincoln County.[46] Then, when the candidate had been selected, he

39. *Constitution*, August 2, 1837.

40. See Francis Hincks, *Reminiscences of his Public Life* (Montreal, 1884), 19-20, and Charles Lindsey, *The Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1862), II, 18.

41. A committee had been appointed at the July 28 meeting to draft this. See Lindsey, *Mackenzie*, II, 17 and Dent, *Rebellion*, I, 364-5.

42. See Lindsey, *Mackenzie*, II, 342-3.

43. See *Constitution*, July, 1837-Sept., 1837, *passim*. Lindsay mentions two more not found in the *Constitution*. See Lindsey, *Mackenzie*, II, 37.

44. Lindsey, *Mackenzie*, II, 32. If Lindsey had supplied the details we would have a clear picture of the nature of Mackenzie's support throughout the Province in the months immediately preceeding the Rebellion. As it is, the information found in the *Constitution* (which if we are to believe Lindsey, is far from complete) would seem to confirm the impression that his support was largely concentrated in the Toronto area. The meetings referred to in the *Constitution* took place in the following townships: King, Whitchurch and Gwillimbury, Albion, Caledon, Chinguacousy, East Toronto, Vaughan, Esquesing, Trafalgar, Toronto and Chinguacousy, Toronto, Whitby, Markham, Scarboro, Pickering, Uxbridge, York, Yarmouth, Brock, Whitchurch and King Norwich, Malahide and Westminster. The last two are mentioned by Lindsey; see n. 43.

45. It seems certain that this scheme in which Mackenzie figured so prominently during the summer and fall of 1837 had very little to do with the Union which had been planned the previous October. Mackenzie's scheme was quite unlike the latter in spirit and its leadership is conspicuous by the absence of Baldwin. Mackenzie's Committee of Vigilance, incidentally, included the following: David Gibson, John Mackintosh, Wm. J. O'Grady, E. B. Gilbert, John Montgomery, John Edward Tims, J. H. Price, John Doel, M. Reynolds, Edward Wright, Robert McKay, Thomas Elliott, James Armstrong, James Hunter John Armstrong, Wm. Ketchum. See n. 42.

46. *Examiner*, November 4, 1840.

had to be notified of his nomination and assisted in his campaign. Such a committee was formed on September 21, 1840 "to superintend and forward" the election of J. H. Dunn and Robert Baldwin as Reform candidates for Toronto.[47] This procedure, incidentally, became a regular part of Upper Canadian electioneering by the 'fifties. County or constituency committees were assisted frequently by ward or township committees. This arrangement was adopted for the Dunn-Baldwin election and a similar system was used for an election in Ontario County in the autumn of 1844.[48]

This local activity left little doubt that the Rebellion and the witch-hunt that followed had not stamped out Reform. The struggle for responsible government revealed that Reform was still a force to be reckoned with in provincial politics. It was around this issue, the dominant one in the 'forties, that Reform reorganized provincially in 1844. The constitution of the Reform Association of Canada was adopted at a meeting held in Toronto on February 6.[49] The chief object of this association was to unite Reformers throughout the Province to fight for the principle of responsible government. The Association had been formed, so said the *Examiner*, to counter the policy of Metcalf who refused to accept a principle which Sydenham and Bagot had conceded.[50]

The structure of the organization followed, without much deviation, patterns that had been used before.[51] At the top was a "general Committee" appointed annually. From this body three inferior committees were to be chosen; one for management, one for finance and one for correspondence. There was provision, of course, for the formation of branch associations, the members of which were to be members of the Reform Association while their officers were to be *ex officio* members of the general committee. New members were to be admitted by a motion at the central or branch associations or by application in writing with the recommendation of any one member. A later resolution made possible the formation of a branch in any part of a township "or other local subdivision" of a county.

Although the Reform Association of Canada marked the revival of Reform organization on a provincial scale it seems to have been preceded at the local level. On March 21, J. W. Powell, a Port Dover Reformer, wrote to J. C. Morrison, one of the corresponding secretaries of the Association, informing him that "Prior to the organization of the Reform Association of Toronto the Reformers in most of the Townships of this District had formed themselves into similar associations for precisely the same object; and", he added, "in other Townships similar organization

47. *Ibid.*, September 23, 1840.
48. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1844.
49. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1844.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*

will be proceeded with, as soon as the roads assume a less formidable appearance".[52]

Powell's conception of the Association is interesting for it seems to have reflected, in part, the ideas of its founders and reveals, at the same time, the reaction of Reformers in at least one part of the Province. "Reformers here", he said,

hail your Association as the nucleus or point around which kindred spirits can rally, — and through the medium of which that information may be imparted to the Country, which is alone required to secure the return of an Assembly of the genuine Durham cast . . . . The plan of the Reformers here is to form a District Association out of their Township Committees immediately, in connection with your Association, and through which correspondence may pass to the respective Township Committees of the organization of which you will soon hear.[53]

Again it is difficult to say with certainty where and how many branches were established. The *Examiner* between March and September, 1844 refers to the formation or intended formation of a number of branches.[54] One reads of branches springing up in various towns or townships or parts of townships but it is never clear how thoroughly the counties or the Province as a whole was organized. The *Examiner* referred to at least twenty-two town or township branches, most of which were concentrated in the central part of the province.[55]

A preliminary examination of the Reform Association of Canada leaves many questions unanswered. To what extent was it responsible for rallying the Province to the support of Reform principles after the defeat of 1844? What did it contribute to the Reform victory in the 1847-48 elections? On the other hand, was it still active in 1848? Certainly as early as November, 1847, Baldwin was writing to Reformers in various parts of the Province regarding preparations for the forthcoming election.[56] But who looked after the rest?[57] Was there a central agency supervising and co-ordinating activity in all constituencies? Had there been one surely it would have figured prominently in the pages of the *Examiner* during the last two months of 1847. But on this subject the *Examiner* was silent. One thing is certain, however, that the provincial association dissolved after the principle of responsible government had been accepted. When this happened the primary reason for its existence disappeared.

The unity Reformers had found by 1848 disintegrated in the early 'fifties as the radicals and the moderates found each other increasingly

52. See *Proceedings at the First General Meeting of Reform Association of Canada* held at the rooms of the Association, Toronto, on Monday, 25th March, 1844 (Toronto, 1844), 35.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Examiner*, March, 1844—September, 1844, *passim*. There is little or nothing in this journal to suggest that other branches were formed after the latter date.

55. They were in Hamilton, East Flamboro, West Flamboro, Picton, Peterborough, Enismore, West Gwillimbury, Emily, Mariposa, Nelson, Trafalgar, Nassagaweya, Esquesing, Erin, Beverly, Whitchurch, East Gwillimbury, Markham, Woodhouse, Brantford, Whitby, Pickering.

56. J. M. S. Careless *Brown of the Globe* (Toronto, 1959), I, 71-2.

unbearable. This state of affairs naturally prevented the reorganization of Reformers on a provincial scale. It did not, of course, prevent the two groups from organizing locally for their own purposes.

By the middle of the decade, however, relations were beginning to improve. Clear Gritism was on its way out. It was losing ground quickly to George Brown and his steadily increasing group of followers. In fact it was Brown and his Reform associates in Toronto who were responsible for drawing all shades of Reform opinion into a new provincial organization which appeared early in 1857.

The first step was taken on December 15, 1856 at a meeting of members of the Opposition and Reform journalists in Toronto.[58] From it issued a circular addressed to Reformers in each constituency of the Province asking them to send six delegates from their respective constituencies to a convention to be held early the following month. The convention was planned to define policy, lay down a platform and to create an instrument to aid in achieving the recognition and application of these principles. In an issue early in the new year the *Globe* informed its readers that this course was taken to oppose "the reckless administration of public affairs"; to oppose a government supported by only one section of the province and pursuing a sectional policy which was "humiliating" to the western section and detrimental to the whole Province; to oppose an unprincipled, office-holding government with all its patronage, extravagance, debt and taxation. The platform, it announced, called for representation by population, a complete division between church and state, uniform legislation for the whole province, non-sectarian education, constitutional restraints on the administration and the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay territory into the Province.[59]

To promote these "reforms" it was decided that an association should be formed whose "object shall be to circulate reliable political information, and aid the return of Representatives to Parliament favourable to the objects of the Association and that it be called THE REFORM ALLIANCE". This association was to consist of a "Central Committee at Toronto and a committee in each constituency and township in the Province. Those on the executives of the township committees were to be *ex officio* members of the constituency committees and the members of the executive of the latter had a similar relation to the central committee. When the Convention was held early in January the resolutions embodying the platform and the Alliance were adopted unanimously.

Even before the Convention was held William McDougall, for one, was optimistic about the future of the new arrangement. "The 'Reform Alliance' ", he said,

is a decided success. I have never saw [*sic*] greater party unanimity as far as we have gone . . . . We expect to raise several thousand pounds to help weak constituencies, not by bribery, but by opening their eyes

57. Brown was one. He worked in the West. *Ibid.*, 72-3.
58. *Globe*, January 12, 1857.
59. *Ibid.*

to the truth. Let us begin a new movement[60] and forget past dissentions [*sic*]—remember them for warning, not for reproach.[61]

These were the words of a Grit who saw the Convention and the Alliance as instruments for healing old wounds and for party consolidation. Brown, speaking through the *Globe*, expressed similar feelings. "Politicians", he said, "must now choose their side; they can no longer float between the different divisions and subdivisions of parties . . . . The Loose Fish era has passed away, we hope, never to return".[62] But party organization meant something more; it was essential to the proper functioning of responsible government.

To carry on representative government with purity and efficiency, there must be two well-consolidated parties, each having a defined policy laid down, whether in or out of power . . . . No greater curse can befall any country than that from the absence of party organization, a 'ragged regiment of land-jobbers, speculators and shavers' should be enabled to preside over its affairs.[63]

But after the excitement of the Convention the practical problem of raising the edifice from the plans still remained. Little could be achieved without support in the country. This meant the expansion of the Alliance throughout the Province—the formation of branches. The *Globe* was hopeful. "We trust", it said, "that . . . branches of the REFORM ALLIANCE will spring up like magic in every corner of the country . . . without local organization we have accomplished nothing. Push on the work". But the ranks, it seems, might have pushed somewhat more energetically.[64] In November, 1859 when the *Globe* was publicizing the work of the Convention which had just been held, it expressed the opinion that many counties had been lost at the last election for the want of organization.[65] Those constituencies in which the Reform party had been organized were North York,[66] Lincoln, West Durham, Lambton, Kent, North Wellington[67] and "perhaps one or two others". But what, the

60. With the words "new movement" McDougall may have coined a phrase. At this time the *Globe* began to refer to the re-organization of the party as "the movement" or the "new movement", although I am not certain where it appeared first.

61. *Clarke Papers*, William McDougall to Charles Clarke, January 2, 1857.

62. *Globe*, January 12, 1857.

63. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1857.

64. There were only a few references to the Alliance in the *Globe* during 1857. I found references to just two branches—the Kent branch (February 9) and the Darlington and Bowmanville branch (March 16). Another branch (of which Alexander Mackenzie was secretary) was formed in Lambton. See Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, I, 243.

65. *Globe*, November 18, 1859. Actually the Reform party was successful in Canada West.

66. The *Globe* was well pleased with the situation in North York. There was a man on each concession whose duty it was to know the opinions of every resident and to bring those who were on the right side to the poll. These men formed the township committees from which representatives were chosen for the county committee. The result was that North York was "one of the best Reform counties in the Province".

67. North Wellington was not organized until March, 1859. On March 21 Charles Clarke issued a circular to the Reformers of the riding calling attention to the fact that the North Wellington Constitutional Reform Association had been formed in Fergus on March 15. Clarke, as secretary of the Association, asked that

Globe lamented, "are these among so many"? Previous to the Convention the *Globe* counselled that "Plain speaking and bold action" were required. It would be the fault, it added, "of the reform party in the Counties" if the Convention was not a success.[68] A few days later it stated that a platform was of no value without "the means of supporting it". "We trust", the editorial ran, "that the delegates will go home with a plan of organization, determined to form *without loss of time* branch associations which shall be, *not mere names*, but living, active bodies, able for the work cut out for them".[69]

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the enthusiasm of the 1857 Convention soon gave way to apathy. Some branches lacked life. Many became little more than "mere names". The result was that just two years later the party was efficiently organized in only seven or eight constituencies throughout the entire Province. It was partly to remedy this that the " 'cooking' gentlemen" of the party, at a meeting at Rossin House in Toronto on September 23, 1859, decided to call another convention. The work of the "Temperance Street Conspiracy" of 1857 had come to nothing. Perhaps this one would create something of permanence.

Shortly after the Convention had ended the *Globe* noted that, "It was admitted by all that the platform, however good, would be of little service if not supported by active and united effort at the polls".[70] This

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they begin immediately to form ward, village and township committees to act with the riding association in "the promotion of constitutional liberal principles". See the *Clarke Papers*, circular from Charles Clarke, March 21, 1859.

It might seem odd that there was no reference in this circular to the provincial Reform Alliance; nor did it suggest that the new Association was a branch or in any way integrated with a provincial system. The answer simply may be that at this time one did not exist—except, perhaps, on paper.

Reorganization was something that was needed in North Wellington. One Reformer from West Luther Township told Clarke that he would be glad to hear from him regarding the new scheme since "some more efficient organization" was "much wanted" there. See *Clarke Papers*, Alexander Crichton to Charles Clarke, March 28, 1859.

Another correspondent, despite his grammatical difficulties, sent this unambiguous message to Clarke in August: "There is sum of our voters seems careless about going to the poll the say if do not be brought and get some refresnment they will not go But I told them that what unseatted Mr. Allen.

"But I think if we had two teams it would be plenty the sixteen concession voters has a long way to go and if there was team from ther and one from the fourtheent

"I think we wold requir a little money for drink any way I will not be responsible for any Bill this year I had to pay two dollars after the last election that I though was settled". See *Clarke Papers*, Alexander Kirkpatrick to Charles Clarke, August 9, 1858.

The Reform party (or its leaders) always pictured itself as incorruptible in conducting elections. "When bad men conspire, good men must unite". One wonders if there were many more in the ranks who had inclinations similar to those of Mr. Kirkpatrick.

68. *Globe*, September 29, 1859.

69. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1859. My italics.

70. *Ibid.*, November 18, 1859. The platform consisted of three main points. It called for the control by Upper Canada of all matters of a local or sectional character, the establishment of some joint authority to deal with matters common to both sections of the Province; and finally, further and better safeguards against extravagant public expenditure and executive maladministration.

was to be achieved, of course, by organization—organization through the Constitutional Reform Association of Upper Canada which was formed at the Convention.[71] The Association was to consist of "all [Reform] members of Parliament, and members of the [Reform] Press, and all other persons" who cared to subscribe to the constitution. It was to be managed by an Executive Committee consisting of the Reform members of Parliament, the presidents of the branch associations and any others that the Committee might elect. It could appoint its own officers and adopt its own rules and by-laws, ten being a quorum. The branch associations were to be organized by Reform members of Parliament, Reform journalists and all delegates of the Convention, in each constituency in the Province, "at the most central or convenient town or place". They were to be managed by a President, as many Vice-Presidents as there were municipalities in the constituency, a Secretary, a Treasurer and a local committee of not fewer than five people. Sub-committees could be organized in any municipality under the Vice-President for that municipality. Officers were to be elected annually. The funds of each branch were to be at the disposal of their officers and local committees "for any purpose not inconsistent with the objects" of the Association. The Secretaries of the branches were expected, as soon as possible after their appointment, to supply the Executive Committee with a list of the names and addresses of the officers and members of the local committees and "such other information, from time to time, as he or the President may deem advisable".

The form of this system is similar to earlier ones with its central committee and its network of integrated branches. There seems to have been room here for a good deal of central direction and control for although the membership of the Executive committee was, in theory, extensive, only ten were required for a quorum. This would allow the few at the top, George Sheppard's " 'cooking' gentlemen", effective control. Having formulated a plan it was now the task of the party to prove to all sceptics[72] that the Convention had been called not merely for talk

71. *Ibid.*

72. First among these was the opposition. As soon as the Convention had been announced the opposition press launched an attack of ridicule and abuse which continued for months. The Convention gave rise to one of the few pieces of Canadian political satire. It was both ingenious and amusing, if not subtle. The title page read, in part, "The Great Convention: being a full account of its inception, reception, deception, exception, and conception by a Young Deformer". The Convention offered "the only true solution and dilution of the dissolution of the Union". This was, for this writer, the central theme of the Convention.

"The long-looked for 9th of November", chapter four began, "which was to decide the fate of Canada to extinguish all her evils and introduce a long reign of prosperity at last, arrived. Delegates from all parts of Western Canada were assembled in the St. Lawrence Hall. What a motley collection! Broken down Editors,– political black legs, idiotic backwoods men, half starved reeves, ragged members of Parliament, hungry lawyers, simple-minded yeomen and cunning sharks . . . ."

At the beginning of the meeting letters from those unable to attend were read. The following came from Garribaldi: "I am sorry that I cannot attend the Con-

but "to secure party union and party organization".[73] Thus, once again the work of establishing branches was undertaken.

On December 17, the *Globe* remarked that the opposition press contended that very little had been accomplished and only a few branches had been established. The *Globe* replied that this was not true, but nevertheless it encouraged Reformers to establish branches where it was still necessary. Two days later it reported that some Reformers did not think organization was necessary in their counties. "This", the *Globe* warned, "is a great mistake". By January the work was obviously slowing down. On January 10 the *Globe* suggested that branch associations were not being formed as fast as they should and on January 12 it published an article from the Galt *Reformer* exhorting the Reformers of Waterloo to shake off their apathy. But by February the picture was brighter. On February 13 it was reported that "the work of Reform organization is actively progressing throughout the length and breadth of Upper Canada". On March 3 the *Globe* informed its readers that reports of the formation of branches were still coming in and that with "a lively movement" during the next week the work would "be finished". By the middle of April the *Globe* had recorded the formation of branches in some 36 ridings.[74] They were found in all sections of the Province but the majority were in the central and western area.[75]

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of the *Globe* between November, 1859 and June, 1860, that branches had been established in these constituencies. Some appear to have been well organized with a central committee and sub-committees in many of the townships. By April the work of establishing branches seems to have been coming to an end. Between the middle of April and the end of June the *Globe* did not refer to any new branches. Very few, if any, were probably established after this.

75. Branches were established in North Wentworth, South Wentworth, Hamilton, Norfolk, Haldimand, East Durham, West Durham, Dundas, East Northumberland, West Northumberland, Victoria, South Wellington, North Oxford, Peel, East Brant, West Brant, North Waterloo, South Waterloo, South Leeds, South Ontario, North Ontario, Halton, North Lanark, South Lanark, Huron and Bruce, Grey, West Middlesex, Lambton, Perth, West Elgin, Niagara, Toronto, York, Stormont and Kent. vention. My hands are full now. I have the Pope in one hand and the Emperor of Austria in the other— and with my feet I am kicking the Emperor of the French. Were it not for that I would come over and drive the French out of Lower Canada in short time, very.

Wishing you a speedy riddance of them,

I remain yours, & c.,

Garribaldi.

P.S.—If Mr. Brown says he is a relation of mind [*sic*,] both families having come from the same place in Scotland, it must be so—though I have no recollection of him, his family or country".

Another came from "the Proprietors of the *'Great Eastern'* ". "In reply to your urgent demand", it began, "as to whether the owners of the *Great Eastern* would place that vessel at the disposal of the Convention for the purpose of transporting all the French Canadians into the middle of the ocean, and there scuttling her, we beg to say that we cannot comply with your request, unless you hand us over first the sum of £2,000,000 sterling.

"If you do this you can have the ship, and do what ever the devil you like with her . . . ."

This is just a sample. For the full account see "The Great Convention: being a full account of its inception, reception, deception, exception, and conception by a Young Deformer . . . " (Toronto, 1859).

73. *Globe*, November 18, 1859.

74. I do not claim that this figure is precise. I found, in examining the pages

How successful was the Reform Association? The results of the elections of 1861 do not speak favourably for the Association, although the 1863 elections brought success to the Reform camp. Some thought that the Association had given a good account of itself, for the circular calling the delegates to the 1867 convention contended that the Association with its branches "have tended in a great measure to secure those political successes at the elections that the Reform party has since achieved". The Constitutional Reform Association of Upper Canada represents the last attempt of the Upper Canadian Reform party to organize itself on a provincial scale. It was the last of several such attempts and, perhaps, the most successful. But, by 1859, time was on its side.

Throughout the period the branches were concentrated generally around Toronto in the central or west-central section of the Province. Toronto was always the centre of any system which was established. To it Reformers in the Province looked for initiative and leadership. Occasionally the demand for organization came from outlying districts; but its fulfillment was looked for in "the Metropolis". This was the location of the central or executive committees; around them the groups of branches were arranged.[76] Although those established after the 1859 Convention show a wider distribution, the majority of them were still found west of Toronto. This is, perhaps, another indication that the strength of the Reform party was usually found in this area. Did the fact that the party was well organized here partly account for its strength in this region or merely reflect it?

Organization was always undertaken in aid of a cause. Gourlay, the Reformers of the 'thirties, the Reformers of 1844 and those of the 'fifties all had causes to fight. To forward these causes in the most effective manner was the reason behind organization. This raises the hitherto largely neglected question: how much did organization contribute to their success? This poses a large problem which this paper does not or cannot attempt to answer. It can and does, however, pose it and suggests that organization was an important factor and one that ought to be given due consideration. People are not necessarily drawn to support a political party only through the power of oratory or because they tend at some time to agree with certain principles. And during this period this might have been more true. This was an age when an election might be won by the party which had the most money to dispense or could provide the most appetizing "refreshments" at the poll. An election might be won by the party which was able to juggle the names on the assessment rolls most effectively.[77] And at a time when transportation

76. This fact helps to substantiate the 'metropolitan' explanation of the history of Upper Canada.

77. These lists played an important role in nineteenth century elections. The party that controlled these lists also controlled the voters' lists. This raises two significant questions which cannot be considered here: election law and patronage. An investigation of these questions would throw much light on electioneering during this period.

and communication were, to say the least, a problem, elections might be won by that party which had committees in remote townships which could inform the voter of the party platform and, when election day came, see that he got to the poll and registered his vote. All this required organization.

To what extent did organization contribute to the growth and consolidation of the party? Organization might have assisted in gaining new members. It might have been an instrument of unification. People scattered throughout the Province, or sections of it, could be given a feeling of oneness through a system of branches tied together by a central association. Through the latter could come direction and coordination; and through it each could be made known to all. George Brown, in fact, consciously used organization as an instrument of unification. For him organization was essential; it was just as important at the local level in the smallest village as it was at the top. A thoroughly organized party was a united party. And party organization had, for him at least, even wider implications. It was not only essential for the success of parties but it was essential for the success of the system within which those parties functioned.

A preliminary examination of the subject uncovers more problems than it solves. But before the significance of Reform organization can be assessed these problems must be considered. Plans are frequently impressive on paper—to what extent were they fulfilled? Constituency organization flourished, but (as George Brown was to ask) how many were "mere names"? There is abundant evidence to justify such scepticism. Even if the plans materialized, were they ultimately effective? One might reply that extensive Reform organization by no means ensured electoral success. If the machinery was defective, what was the source of the trouble? Certainly the need for organization was universally recognized, but how many took the time or had the energy and interest to make it work?

Yet the fact remains that Reformers (and, incidentally, the opposition) did organize, and this must have affected in some way the election results. A platform attractive to the public was essential to electoral success; but so was organization. Without the means to present it and to attend to the host of problems associated with nineteenth century elections a platform, however attractive, could have little significance. Thus not until the problem of organization is fully considered will we be able to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of Canadian political history.

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BRITISH VIEWS OF COLONIAL UPPER CANADA, 1791 - 1841

By D. W. L. Earl

A cloud of witnesses hovered about the birth and growth of colonial Upper Canada and its components left for posterity a large body of literature recording what they saw and experienced there. This is common knowledge, and all historians realise what a valuable source for the study of Canadian history the writings of these British travellers and immigrants can be, especially for the period 1791 to 1841. As presenting a field of study in itself, this *corpus* of travel literature has of recent years gained some following. Sir Max Beerbohm gave a clue to answering why this should be when he asked, "To see what one has not seen before, is that not almost as good as to see what no one has seen?" Seeing the colony through the eyes of its successive 'discoverers' in years of development is in itself both rewarding and satisfying. What did the several hundred British travellers and immigrants who described Upper Canada between 1791 and the Act of Union find to write about? What kind of society did they discover?

Presumably the underlying, if usually unexpressed, kernel of purpose in the whole process of settlement is to reproduce and re-adapt in a new situation the civilization which the frontiersman has left behind him. This is what travellers in the colony saw going on around them and what immigrants were doing there, and from the body of their writings can be extracted a picture of the colonization process which went on in so many areas at so many different times. Social development in North America is a story of perennial re-birth—in this case of the re-birth of something resembling British society in several regions: the St. Lawrence Valley, the lands west of Niagara, the Ottawa valley, and so on. It is a long, frequently sad story of strife and striving, and its end is not yet. But the first and most brutal stages of frontierism were taking place in Upper Canada between 1791 and 1841.

Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotsmen of all classes were inspired to visit Upper Canada or to settle there in this half-century. They left behind them records of their observations which were variously meant to entertain, enlighten or instruct the people of their day. Most of them had no pretensions to be writers, but many of them were literate, and the writings of such as these—Mrs. Moodie, Mrs. Jameson, John Howison, William Dunlop—and of many a humbler man have lived far beyond the future they could have imagined. They have lived, not paradoxically, because they are living. Most of these people stayed too short a time, found the surroundings too uncomfortable, or travelled too quickly, to be sympathetic or understanding, but far the larger part of their pages is authentic. They did not understand what they described, but here

today's hindsight can enrich their accounts. They did not know much about the frontier—because they saw it too closely—but they describe, as it were, the trees. They frequently misunderstood what they could see of the wood because by and large they failed to comprehend that Upper Canada when they saw it was, even in its older sections, just beginning. They expected too much sometimes; John Howison said in 1825:

> A deliberate inspection of a new settlement cannot fail to sink mankind lower in the estimation of the observer, than, perhaps, they were before. Human beings are there seen in a state of natural and inexcusable depravity, that can neither be palliated nor accounted for in any way, except by referring its origin to those evil propensities which appear to be inherent in all men, and which can be destroyed or counteracted only by the influence of reason, religion, and education.[1]

Or occasionally they were too sanguine:

> Here is the finest field for the exercise of human ingenuity and industry; — a soil not only capable of producing in abundance all the necessaries of life, but equal to the culture of its greatest luxuries; —a climate not only favourable to the human constitution, but also eminently calculated for the cultivation of every species of grain and fruit.[2]

These two quotations represent the two poles of opinion, and the general reaction of the writers of the period is somewhere between them. There was some, but not too much, out and out enthusiasm for the colonies, but on the other hand there was not too much blanket condemnation. Many felt that Canada was a land of opportunity provided that others used the opportunity. Canada, it was generally conceded, was no place for a gentleman, but for the poor and hard-working who could live without refinement and intellectual stimulation, whose ideas of a competence were purely material, it offered hope indeed. It was a land of plenty, then, for those whose definition of this quality was circumscribed, and who were prepared to get out and work unceasingly for it. An anonymous letter-writer saw this as early as 1793 when he wrote:

> The man who resides in these parts of America, without being engaged in some active pursuit, will quickly find his existence a dreamy void. There are no scenes for loungers. There is no regular supply of daily papers for perusal. In Europe a man will, in general, find people as idle as himself with whom he can communicate, but here, unless in the depth of winter, every moment is valuable. The exigencies of such infant establishments require unremitting exertion.[3]

There was sincerity, however, in the view that Canada was a land of some hope for the toiling multitude. H. J. Boulton in 1826 pointed

1. John Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada . . .* ; Edinburgh, 1825.
2. Edward Allen Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas . . .* ; London, 1824; I. 151.
3. *Canadian letters*; Montreal, 1912; 40.

out to the poor in England, who were not making ends meet in the economic upheavals following on accelerating industrialization, that love of one's children and of one's family was a virtue of greater value than love of country, and asked if it were not more worthy of an Englishman to exercise this greater virtue by removing his family to a country where his labour was needed, and would produce more profit and where he could obtain "the respect which is due to his nature", than to remain in England "dependent upon the necessarily parsimonious hand of the parish officer".[4] In one sense, so far as the two virtues of loyalty and familial pride were concerned, Boulton's emigrant was eating his cake and having it, for he need not cast off his allegiance to the Crown. This factor was almost always present in any list of the advantages of Canada, even though one writer did counsel prospective emigrants who might possibly be wondering, as all did who discussed the Canadas at that time, how long they would remain British, to "ask themselves what the British government has done for them at home?"[5]

Canada was seen as a poor man's country, then, although at least one writer, Major Strickland, wondered to what extent the poor man was able to take advantage of it in the 1830's:

> There is no colony belonging to the British Crown better adapted for the poor industrious emigrant than the Canadas, particularly the Upper Province, which is essentially the poor man's country. Twenty-five years ago, the expense of the voyage out to Quebec, and the difficulty, delay, and additional outlay of the inland journey, put it completely out of the power of the needy agriculturist or artizan to emigrate; the very classes, however, who had been brought up from their infancy to hard labour, and used to all sorts of privations, were the best fitted to cope with the dangers and hardships attending the settlement of a new country. The impossibility of the working hand raising funds for emigration, confined the colonists to a set of men less calculated to contend with difficulties—namely, half-pay officers and gentlemen of better family than income, who were almost invariably the pioneers of every settlement.[6]

Against these observations may be set the argument of John MacTaggart, writing in 1829. He felt most emphatically that, as far as the poor Irish immigrants were concerned, misery was only transplanted. Emigration merely increased Irish distress and the poor of that land "may just as well die in Ireland as in Canada".[7] MacTaggart, indeed, is one of the few discoverers who seemed disillusioned and disappointed. He actually seems to be the only writer who even suggested giving the country back to the Indians, largely because he held much too rosy a picture of most of the Indians of British North America at this time. The white man

4. Henry John Boulton, *A Short Sketch of the Province of Upper Canada . . .* ; London, 1826; 6.
5. Patrick Shirreff, *A Tour Through North America*; Edinburgh, 1853; 412-3.
6. Samuel Strickland, *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West*; London, 1853; 134-5.
7. John MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada*; London, 1829; I, 248-51.

was imposing his ways on the beneficent savage, MacTaggart claimed, to the detriment of the land and this race so well adapted to it. The natural habitat of the natives of the continent was being destroyed, in his view, and what would now be called the "balance of nature" was being upset.[8]

There were many hardships for all, and especially for Strickland's class of emigrants. Frances Stewart, in a letter written in 1824, decried the want of a church and clergyman in her bushland settlement, and complained that her children had been five months without milk, having had but salt meat and potatoes for dinner and weak tea and bread for supper. For the servantless housewife there was heavy work aplenty, and Mrs. Stewart was surprised at being able to do all of her own housework for the first time in her life.[9] She, like Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill, was the wife of a half-pay officer. Upper Canada undoubtedly represented a way to a competence for the poor gentleman—a land where the social stigma of working did not attach itself to the man of gentle birth,—but only at great cost, physical, moral and spiritual. The genuineness of Mrs. Moodie's astonishment at finding the sons of officers cutting down trees must be realized, and it should be appreciated that it was upsetting for her class to find that a gentleman could stand behind a counter and sell things. MacTaggart summed up some of the troubles which met the settler from whatever rank in society he came: the particular disadvantages of farming:

> They who invited their friends extol the *absence of taxes*, the salubrity of the climate, the pleasures, amusements, pastimes, etc. They must not say a word about the *difficulty of clearing the woods*, the toils of the hatchet, the heavy lifts, rheumatic complaints, etc.; they must not say that only a mere speck of the country is yet cleared, and that they may get *land for almost nothing*; for what is its value, remote from town and places where it may be brought to some account? Not one of the *logs* that is seen landed on our shores is cut on the farm of any settler; there is not cleared land within 300 miles of where they are obtained. There are not taxes of any extent; because there are very few who could pay them were they imposed. Where there is little taxation in a country, there is often little wealth.[10]

The farmer was indeed facing a hard lot, and James Inches was convinced that not all, or even many, of those intending to emigrate were aware of it. Writing in 1836, he emphasized that the farmer in the bush "is at once not only deprived of all those assistants and resources which he had at home, and to which, from early and habitual use he had been accustomed to apply on all occasions, but he is among a strange people of many nations, without whose assistance, and even without whose direction, he is altogether unable to perform operations so different

8. *Ibid.*, 22-4.
9. R. Hale (ed.), *Settlers . . .* ; London, 1950; 45-6.
10. MacTaggart, *op. cit.*, II, 256.

to what he had been accustomed to before".[11] The prospective farmer would be more than likely to find himself in a wilderness of trees, filling him with awe or even despair:

> What is called a farm is in such a state of roughness that to make the fields even fit for receiving the seed seems almost hopeless . . . . Upon every farm, whether it is what is called a cleared farm or not, an operation which has to be performed at all seasons and which occupies all the time which can be spared from the more urgent matters is the clearing away of immense trees.[12]

Many observers agreed that it would be almost impossible for the mature settler to work his newly-cleared farm up to a profitable condition in his own lifetime.

Another particular disadvantage noted only by the settler, as affecting him personally, was the scarcity of ready money. The farmer, because he could not obtain coin, was discouraged from raising cash crops or making improvements; 'mechanics and artizans' could not find work easily unless they were willing to take payment in room and board; and merchants were obliged to charge oppressively for goods.[13] This resulted in the perfidious system of barter, and in a problem for the moneyed traveller; he was viciously overcharged. Howison felt that "the system of barter which exists in the province has a very injurious effect upon the character of the peasantry . . . . The ignorant and inexperienced are . . . daily exposed to the knavery and deceit of those who think there is no harm in *taking advantage*".[14]

James B. Brown fairly summarized the advantages and disadvantages of Upper Canada as seen in general by all the travellers at the end of the period. Canada had good land, and a fairly healthy climate, he felt; but here most earlier settlers with any experience of ague and lake fever disagreed. By 1840 there were a good many roads near the Great Lakes, and more churches and chapels than there had been, though still not nearly enough. The 'means of education' had been extended until they were fairly widespread. When compared with Australia or South Africa, Canada was close to England and easily accessible. In 1840 one could take an ocean-going steamboat as far inland as Montreal, and then a lake steamer to Kingston, Cobourg, or even Toronto.[15] Throughout the period there was a widening field for 'industry and enterprize'. (Brown meant 'industry' in the nineteenth-century sense of 'willingness to work'). The chief disadvantages seen by almost everyone were the severity and length of the winter season, and the hardships and back-breaking labour to be encountered in clearing land. Indifferent roads

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11. James Inches, *Letters on Emigration to Canada* . . . ; Perth (Scotland), 1836; 32-5.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Howison, *op. cit.*, 129.
14. *Ibid.*, 129-30.
15. James B. Brown, *Views of Canada and the Colonists* . . . ; Edinburgh, 1851; 2nd edn., Chap. I, *passim.*

and the lack of churches and schools still plagued the settlements removed from the lake—the "back settlements" where most of the available land by then was. Finally, the political state of the colony appeared most unsettled and its political future unsure.

The main complaint of the travellers was also one they had expected to make: the lack of good society throughout the colony. Some there were who thought that the presence of the governor general or lieutenant-governor and senior members of the military establishment in some of the larger towns made a society worth cultivating, but others held that society even there was but a squalid imitation of what they had left at home. United States back-country influences were felt to be strong and for the worst:

> The general tone of society is decidedly higher at Quebec than at Montreal; a fact which may probably be accounted for by the former having been so long the seat of government, and the great military establishment; as also, perhaps, in some measure, by the circumstance that a more remote position has caused the habits and manners of these people to be less imbued with the characteristic roughness of the neighbouring Republicans.[16]

Howison argued that there was one factor which made the Canadian social structure attractive to Europeans: "they find themselves of much more importance there than they would at home; for the number of respectable people in the Province is so small, that almost every person is able to obtain some notice or attention." Like many another comment which the reader of nineteenth-century travel literature about Canada comes upon, this one reveals as much about the observer as it does about the observed.[17] Mrs. Jameson, on the other hand, was one of many who felt that the provincial social puddle was so small that no person could worthily aspire to become a big toad in it.[18]

Military men, in particular, and some others, found congenial souls and passable society in the older settled parts of the colony. In fact, if one could overlook the wine, it would seem to have been possible to pass a relatively civilized evening by the end of the period in Kingston, or Toronto. The development of a crude sort of metropolitanism between 1821 and 1830 is perhaps exemplified by the following amusing description of colonial pomp and circumstance, seen by that prominent early immigrant, William Lyon Mackenzie, the great black sheep of all those who most wanted in the colony the kind of society it symbolized:

> . . . [T]he opening of the eighth provincial parliament at York . . . was intended as an imitation of the King going from St. James's Palace, in state, to open the session of the Legislature of Great Britain; and it struck my fancy as being one of the most grotesque

16. T. R. Preston, *Three Years' Residence in Canada from 1837-1839* . . . ; London, 1840; I, 57.

17. Howison, *op. cit.*, i, 280.

18. Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*; London, 1838; i.

and ridiculous exhibitions that could well be conceived by the mind of man.

The roads were bad, the weather very wet, and his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland moved slowly on in a coach such as may be found at the Pantechnicon sometimes with the price marked £75 or under, next to him the Chief Justice in an old-fashioned machine, the like of which no cockney ever cast his eyes on in England; a painted waggon, decorated with scarlet cloth formed No. 3, and No. 4 was an old lumbering vehicle, seemingly half cart, half chaise; . . . the rear was brought up by a farm sleigh, drawn through the deep mud with great difficulty by a couple of horses; in their sleigh sat the Honourable Colonel Smith, who had been for some time administrator of the government. His Honour was attired, like the others, in the usual state, as the Gazette pompously announced . . . .

I have lived to see such humble attempts at monarchical pomp as the above wonderfully improved by superb coaches and four from London and New York, with waiting men in gorgeous liveries . . . and orders from the proper officer of St. James's Palace have been duly announced prescribing the court dresses and laying down the various degrees of precedence from a colonial viceroy almost down to a wood-chopper.[19]

Here is seen the progress of the colony in one minor, but representative, facet. What were the impressions of travellers on colonial development in some other, more general directions? The colony had progressed little or far, according to the preconceived notions of the traveller, and the aspects he was observing. Any, especially among immigrants, who had lived and worked for a few years among the impenetrable backwoods had a very different concept of relative progress from those who had but passed along the shore line of the Great Lakes. Often, too, impressions varied according to whether or not the impressed had been to the United States. Comparisons between Canada and the United States abound because Canada was most often treated by travellers as a side-excursion on a trip to investigate this horrid thing called 'Republicanism' in what was really 'America' to the nineteenth-century Englishman—the United States.

It was pleasant to come over from Buffalo and find the Union Jack, "God Save the King", and redcoats. These made a splendid setting for the greatest scenic attraction on the trip, Niagara Falls. This was, quite frankly, the only reason why many of these British travellers came to Upper Canada at all. And if they looked more closely at the setting, they generally found it disappointing. Upper Canadian scenery was frequently condemned. Nature was much too 'unmethodised'. "Take it all in all," said Captain Basil Hall, a widely travelled military man, "a more unpicturesque country is hardly to be found anywhere."[20] Even the jewel glistened less brightly for some than they had hoped: Niagara, then as now, disappointed nearly as many as it overwhelmed.

19. William Lyon Mackenzie, *Canadian Sketches*; London, 1833; 335-7.
20. Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in North America*; Edinburgh, 1829; i. 253.

As early as 1796, however, the Irishman, Isaac Weld, saw several advantages accruing to the newer land when Canada was compared with the United States.[21] Land prices, owing, of course, in part to the restrictive policies of the Confederation Government, had become exorbitant in the United States, whereas land was plentiful and cheap in Canada. Thus 'the man of moderate property' could undoubtedly provide for his family much more cheaply in Canada than in the United States.

Upper Canada had more need of professional men than the United States, both in 1796 and throughout the next forty-five years. The expenses of establishing oneself in business or a profession were much lower in Upper Canada than they would be in the States for in the former country "the necessaries and conveniences of life are remarkably cheap, whilst, on the contrary, in the other they are far dearer than in England . . . ."[22] Taxes were also less severe in Upper Canada than in the United States of America.

The absence of the poorer class of immigrants who were soon to flock to Upper Canada is reflected in Weld's feeling that "morality and good order are more conspicuous amongst the Canadians of every description than the people of the States; drunkenness is undoubtedly much less common among them, as is gambling and also quarrels . . . ."[23]

Weld's views were those of the optimists and those ignorant of the States or contemptuous of the "Yankees" throughout the period. They did not, however, take into account the progressiveness of the States; they were unrepresentative in that they did not bring out the verve which characterized the developing Republic. Americans may have been tobacco-chewers, but they achieved at the same time; they may have been republicans, but they had formed a relatively mature nation. In 1824 Joseph Pickering stated a view more general among those of British travellers in all North America:

> I admire the energy and enterprise everywhere exhibited [in the United States] and regret the apathy of the British government with regard to the improvement of this province. A single glance down the banks of the Niagara tells on which side the most efficient government has resided. On the United States' side large towns springing up; the numerous shipping, with piers to protect them in harbour, coaches rattling along the road, and trade evidenced by waggons, carts and horses, and people on foot, in various directions. On the Canadian side, although in the immediate vicinity, an older settlement, and apparently better land, there are only two or three stores, a tavern or two, a natural harbour without piers, but two vessels, and two temporary landing places.[24]

There was, of course, the factor which writers like Boulton pointed out when they called attention to the larger population in the United

21. Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada During the Years 1795, 6 and 7*; London, 1800; I, 291-3.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Joseph Pickering, *Inquiries of an Emigrant . . .* ; London, 1832 (4th edn.): 58-9.

States, among which "a few emigrants sprinkled here and there . . . are like grains of sand on the seashore. In that country they are foreigners, and will find in all their intercourse with the Americans that they are so considered."[25] But Mrs. Moodie found the same thing in Upper Canada, nor was she alone in that regard. Also, of course, "in the United States, any public appointment, whether of honour or of profit, is naturally given to a natural-born citizen, in preference to a foreigner of any other nation. In Upper Canada the emigrant from the Mother Country will find no such distinction operating to his prejudice."[26] Both of these drawbacks were, in Boulton's view, overshadowed by the third, the necessity of renouncing one's allegiance to Crown and country. But against his opinions must be set the undeniable fact that loss of population to the United States was a weakening factor in the Canadian polity for many years; indeed, for all Canada's history. The country needed men of ambition and enterprise, men with 'get up and go'. The trouble always seemed to be that such men simply got up and went—went to the States where greater material competence awaited them. Men like Boulton took no account of the materialism of the new continent—of the desire to 'get ahead', to grow 'bigger and better' which seemed to overcome all thoughts of loyalty and political participation. Savage necessity, too, cannot be ruled out as a cause of emigration to the United States. Almost all writers on Canada stressed her need for professional people and skilled producers, but this need, particularly for men in the latter category, was strictly relative to the needs of a very small home market, expanding but slowly, whose wants were quickly satisfied. And then, too, there is a human factor: all men of courage and adventure, and especially young men, wish to ride the crest of the wave of challenge and potential prosperity. "Where is this place going?" such young men must have asked themselves when they looked at Upper Canada of the early nineteenth century. Where, indeed, when compared with the contemporary United States?

The root of this attitude is perhaps contained in Captain Marryat's comparison in 1831 between the buildings of Buffalo and those of nearby York: smaller and not to be compared with corresponding structures in the American city. "But", he said, "the Englishman has built according to his means, the American according to his expectations."[27] Here Marryat touched upon an important grain of truth; one of the most prominent facets of the whole problem of the two areas. The American had, as it were, the courage of his expectations; the Englishman that caution and patience which builds lastingly in all aspects of society, but which tries the patience of young men of "drive". It was a new continent; so much had to be done, and it simply seemed to many that in the Canadian part of the continent it was just not being done.

25. Boulton, *op. cit.*, 53.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Captain F. Marryat, *A Dairy in America*; London, 1839; 213.

Thus it was that probably the most percipient observer of the Canadas in the whole period—Canada's de Tocqueville, the Earl of Durham—was able to say of the two countries in 1838 that "by describing one side and reversing the picture, the other would also be described."[28] Durham pointed out that this 'striking contrast' had occurred to every observant traveller who had seen both nation and colony: "the striking contrast which is presented between the American and British sides of the frontier line in every sign of productive industry, increasing wealth, and progressive civilization."[29] He cited the difference in land values as several hundred per cent[30] a strange fact when he considered that the land on the British side was somewhat superior in natural fertility.[31] In the cities, too, the difference was remarkable. "The ancient city of Montreal," the Earl remarked, "which is naturally the commercial capital of the Canadas will not bear the least comparison, in any respect, with Buffalo, which is a creation of yesterday."[32] Only in 'a few favoured spots' on the British side of the line was there any approach to American prosperity. The cause? Durham laid it squarely at the feet of the government in its mismanagement of land. Nearly all the different systems pursued in land administration had, Durham found, "one mischievous tendency in particular; they have tended to place a vast extent of land out of the control of the government, and yet to retain it in a state of wilderness."[33] This 'vast extent of land" included the clergy reserves—one-seventh of all the land—and large grants to Empire Loyalists, militiamen, discharged military personnel, naval and army officers, government officials, executive and legislative councillors and the heirs of various important colonial officials like General Brock and Bishop Mountain, municipal officials, individuals contracting to make surveys, and many others, making among their holdings a total of something more than one-half the surveyed land, of which, in Durham's view, perhaps only so small an area as one-tenth was under cultivation.[34]

Another writer touched on a different factor in 1840, which also may be laid at Great Britain's door, when he said:

> Almost all English travellers who have passed from the one country to the other, have given it as their opinion that Canada is far behind the United States in enterprise and progress; and they attribute this difference to the superiority of republican over monarchical institutions. The British residents here appeared to me to be as sensitive of these remarks as the Americans are to any observations of English travellers which in any way disparage their country or its institutions. Great pains are accordingly taken by the Canadians to show that in some instances, this superiority of America

28. John Lambton, Earl of Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America*; London, 1902 (1st published 1838); 150.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, 152.
31. *Ibid.*, 153.
32. *Ibid.*, 155.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 159.

> to Canada is imaginary, and not real; and in others, where it may be regarded as real, it is not so much owing to American enterprise as it is to English liberality in lending them a large amount of capital to carry forward their great public works, which capital, if it had been invested in Canada instead of the United States, would have produced results equally advantageous to this country.[35]

This discussion of some aspects of Great Britain's place in colonial affairs prompts a further consideration of the "British connexion" as British travellers in Upper Canada observed it. The Mother Country's selfish view was well expounded thirty years earlier by Hugh Gray.[36] The United States had been lost to Great Britain "by an impolitic course of treatment", said he, and arguments to prove that Great Britain was better off without the colonies had been frequently and ingeniously brought forward: "we are very glad to find palliatives for evils we cannot remedy." The actual loss of North American bases would be a grave one, Gray urged, and he finished by saying that:

> It appears to me to be decidedly the interest of Great Britain to retain the dominion of her North American colonies, even though so doing should retard their progress in population, in arts, and in commerce. Their individual interests ought to yield to those of the mother country, the head of the empire.[37]

By 1832 a slight shift is perceptible in British attitudes to the retention of the colonies. From being a matter of national advantage, their subjection to the Crown had become something closer to a matter of national honour, as this quotation from the writings of Thomas Need shows:

> English settlers of the better class may rest assured, that if they do not their utmost by precept and example to maintain the national character, and foster a love for British institutions in the colony the growing amalgamation which . . . base imitation is producing between the States and the Province will eventually unite them in other respects also; and then, what will our domination be but a name, which the first opportunity will blot from the map? . . . No, if we should not realize the American boast that monarchy cannot thrive in the new Continent, let the English settler take pains to prove its real superiority to any other form of government; so that whenever in the course of years, this thriving colony is able to go alone, its constitution and form of government may be modelled on those which have raised the mother country to her summit of glory.[38]

'Yankeeism' or Americanization was a matter which concerned most writers at this time. It was generally conceded that it was inevitable that Canada should fall into the arms of the Southern republic. To many it seemed that this was for the best, but as imperial sentiments began to grow up more and more, the British traveller started to deplore a

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35. James Silk Buckingham. *Canada . . . and the Other British Provinces in North America . . .* ; London, 1843; 304.
36. Hugh Gray, *Letters from Canada . . .* ; London, 1809; 75-6.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Thomas Need, *Six Years in the Bush*; London, 1838; 22-3.

process which he still saw as a definite eventuality until after the 1837 rebellion. Need expressed this deploring as strongly as anyone when he bemoaned the importation of 'Yankee' ways into Upper Canada:

> I do not know anything more degrading than an affectation of Yankee airs and idioms in a newly-imported English settler, whether yeoman, or, as I fear, sometimes . . . gentleman. The English emigrant like the ancient Roman should carry with him to the colony the manners, habits and principles of the mother country. He ought to glory in the title of *Englishman*, and esteem it as much a privilege as ever did Roman that of citizen; but too often the reverse is the case. The Anglo-Canadian copies the worst and most prominent features of the American character, and the British settler in his turn caricatures the copy.[39]

In 1840 Sir Richard Bonnycastle took a wholly different view of the future position of Canada relative to the United States; a view at least partly percipient, if over-blown in its confidence in the colony:

> Canada will hereafter be to the United States of America throughout all the modern unions down to the southern ocean, what Great Britain has been to Europe,—the refuge and the fountain, the fortress of protection from extreme political excitement, and the well of living waters which shall feed and nourish the persecuted soul.[40]

These, then, are some of the main reactions of the British observers to Upper Canada. There was plenty if one worked hard for it, but the question which they almost all asked concerning emigration, and especially emigration of 'people of quality' was, could one really afford to forego the advantages of cheap goods, cheap labour, good education, and religious and cultural ministrations? As so often in human affairs the answers to these questions lay deep in the attitudes, training, and sense of adventure of the onlooker. So much for reactions to the country, — what of its people?

Early in the period, British travellers were much impressed by the Indians they encountered in Upper Canada. Patrick Campbell, and many others who met them, were struck by 'Captain' Thomas and 'Captain' Joseph Brant. Campbell described Thomas, chief of the Indian village of Caughnawaga, across the river from Lachine, whom he met in an inn at Kingston in 1791, as a "tall, handsome man, extremely well dressed in the English fashion, and had nothing particular about him but a string of small silver buckles hung down his breast fastened to his long lank black hair from either side of his head."[41] Thomas was actively engaged in relatively large-scale trade, especially in furs, "and he can get on his credit at a call in any of the principal mercantile houses at Montreal £2,000 worth of goods."[42]

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39. *Ibid.*, 21-2.
40. Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, *Canada as it was, is and may be*; London, 1852 (1st published 1841); I, 67.
41. Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North American in the Years 1791 and 1792*; Toronto, 1937; 138-9.
42. *Ibid.*

Campbell also met the even more renowned Joseph Brant and his wife. Both these Indian personages interested him immensely, and were exceedingly hospitable to him. 'Captain' Brant impressed Campbell by his cultivation and ability, Mrs. Brant by her elegance and grandeur. He has left this description of Brant's hospitality:

> Tea was on the table when we came in, served up in the handsomest china plate, and every other furniture in proportion. After tea was over, we were entertained with the music of an elegant hand organ, on which a young Indian gentleman and Mr. Clinch played alternately. Supper was served up in the same genteel style. Our beverage, rum, brandy, port and madeira wines. Captain Brant made several apologies for his not being able to sit up with us so long as he wished . . . and we being fatigued from our journey went timeously to rest; our beds, sheets and English blankets equally fine and comfortable.[43]

Campbell inspected the village of which Brant was chief, and liked what he saw. He considered that the inhabitants were better lodged and better provided for than the generality of poor Scots farmers. It was not for many years that the corrupting influence of the white man began to be seen in tribes with strong leadership. In Brant's and other Eastern, and especially Loyalist, tribes it never was so strong as it was among tribes with more contact with the earlier fur traders. Nearly all the travellers remarked that liquor was the general enervating and barbarizing element among the Indians. Even Brant was observed to lose his civilised qualities and brandish his tomahawk in the officers' mess at Fort George in 1798 when he had had too much to drink.[44] In the 1830's Anna Jameson found great kindness, understanding, and hospitality among an Indian tribe near Manitoulin, one of whose leading families 'adopted' her and cared for her during a serious illness in part of her travels. She refers with true gratitude to the devotion of her Indian 'mother'.[45]

When the story turns from the indigenous to the colonial peoples, it is found, surprisingly, that there was among the earlier travellers almost no knowledge or understanding of the great 'Loyalist saga' which had just passed its climax in 1791. Later writers tend to lump all the Canadians of American origin with the riff-raff who came from the States to Canada in later years, for various reasons, none of them too creditable—many in this latter category would seem to have been fugitives from creditors or the law, or to have come to Canada to sponge on unsuspecting English settlers like the Moodies. The radical elements in the province fed on these 'Yankee' settlers, whereas the Tory element was to an important degree composed of the Loyalist families.

Not only the 'Yankees' but also the native Canadian agricultural inhabitants found, on the whole, little favour with the British. Thomas Hamilton summed up the attitude generally entertained:

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43. *Ibid.*, 165.
44. Colonel Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections* . . . ; London, 1852; II, 27-8.
45. Anna Jameson, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

> . . . [O]f the lower orders in the Upper Province it is impossible to speak favourably. They have all the disagreeable qualities of the Americans, with none of that energy, and spirit of enterprise, which often convert a bad man into a useful citizen. They are sluggish, obstinate, ignorant, offensive in manner, and depraved in morals, without loyalty and without religion.[46]

This prompts questions about the structure of colonial society in general, a structure which varies little from decade to decade, and is predominantly a rural one. Urban society, in most observers' opinion, was confined almost entirely to the lower colony. Rural society in Upper Canada struck most Britons as a pretty democratic affair. There was no squirearchy or landed gentry in the English sense. Everyone was a freeholder. This, as might be expected, was one of the chief attractions of the colony for the English tenant-farmer. Colonel Talbot is about the only isolated exception to this generalization about landed proprietorship, and even he exercised very little lordly jurisdiction over the settlers who came to his extensive estates around St. Thomas in the 1810's and 1820's. His lands were granted to him for the purpose, not of tilling, but of distributing to immigrants. He was really a land company in himself, not the lord of a great manor.

Without a land system to base it on, any sort of country aristocracy was quite impossible in the colony. There was plenty of land for all, and no advantage accrued to him who had a great deal of it; he merely had more than he could manage and so retarded the thick settlement of the area in which it was located. The forest was an equalizer in that it reduced all men to the same level of relative impotence in face of their environment. It was of necessity a wholly utilitarian society. For the average Englishman, however, the free air of the frontier had an intoxicating effect. The "shackles" which he felt had bound him in the homeland were cast away, and he forgot that there had been the best of reasons there for the existence of many of them. Sir Francis Bond Head made an interesting analysis of the reactions of the lower class settler as he saw them in the critical year, 1837:

> For a short time, on their arrival at their various locations, they fancy, or rather they really and truly feel, more or less strongly, that there is something very fine in the theory of having at last got rid of all the musty materials of "Church and State" and revelling in this sentiment, they for a short time enjoy the novel luxury of being able to dress as they like, do as they like, to go where they like. They appreciate the happiness of living in a land in which the Old Country's servile habit of touching the hat does not exist, in which every carter and waggoner rides instead of walks, and in which there are no purse proud millionaires, no dukes, duchesses, lords, ladies, parsons, parish-officers, beadles, poor law commissioners, or paupers, no titles and no taxes.
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> But after the mind, like the Thames water, has continued for a sufficient time in this state of pleasing fermentation, the feelings

46. Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*; Edinburgh, 1834; I, 329-30.

I have just described begin gradually to subside . . . until the judgment, [a man's] best friend, clearly points out to the emigrant, that, after all, "liberty and equality" like many other resplendent substances, contain in their composition a considerable quantity of alloy.[47]

Five years earlier Mrs. Traill and her husband had come upon an instance of the same thing exemplified in a Scots stoker. Mrs. Traill's description of the exchange which took place on this occasion is so amusing and so revealing of the attitude of her station and of that of his that it should be quoted at length:

> You would be surprised to see how soon the newcomers fall into this disagreeable manner and affectation of equality, especially the inferior class of the Irish and Scotch . . . . We were rather entertained by the behaviour of a young Scotsman, an engineer on the steamer, on my husband addressing him with reference to the management of the engine. His manners were surly and almost insolent. He scrupulously avoided the least approach to courtesy or outward respect, nay, he even went so far as to seat himself . . . beside me and observed that, "among the many advantages this country offered to settlers like himself, he did not reckon the least of them that he was not obliged to take off his hat when he spoke to people (meaning persons of our degree) or address them by any other title than their name; besides, he could go and take his seat beside any gentleman or lady either, and think himself to the full as good as them."
>
> "Very likely," I replied, hardly able to refrain from laughing at this sally, "but I doubt not you greatly overstate the advantage of such privileges, for you cannot oblige the lady or gentleman to entertain the same opinion of your qualifications or to remain seated beside you unless it pleases them to do so." With these words I rose up and left the independent gentleman evidently a little confounded at the manoeuvre . . . .[48]

Nor did this lack of respect diminish with residence. Rather, it increased. Gentle Isaac Fidler (gentle in more than one respect) had a like experience in 1833 with a settler of long standing:

> At a house by the road-side I called at . . . there was an elderly man seated who eyed me for some time with a keen and steady look . . . . "You talk mighty fine", he said, "you are a mighty elegant gentleman, and have a noble look. Have you seen the governor since you came?" "You pay me more compliments", I said, "than I have ever had before; I have, however, seen his Excellency." "Now, I thought as much," he instantly rejoined, "I thought by your appearance you were one of those who come into the country-side to get a grant of land. You have obtained five hundred acres, I suppose?" I looked at him with astonishment. At last I told him I was a perfect stranger and had never heard of such a thing. "Besides," added I, "I left England a downright radical, and am certainly without the smallest claim to partiality and without any expectation of such a favour." "You tell us so", said he, "but we know things better. We gave them a sample last winter of what to expect. We

47. Sir Francis Bond Head, *The Emigrant*; London, 1848; 39-40.
48. Mrs. Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* . . . ; 83-6.

> want nothing with governors, bishops and archdeacons." He left the place soon after; and I was given to understand he was a republican, an adherent of Mr. MacKenzie. I had often, whilst in the States, observed the narrow and intolerant spirit of democracy. It occupies the same place in politics as popery in religion.[49]

So it was the Howison could generalize in 1831 about the Upper Canadian agricultural population.[50] His judgment was well-balanced, and enables a complete picture to be evolved. The native agricultural inhabitants were generally uneducated and illiterate, but they were acute and discerning, displaying sound common sense and good judgment in every day affairs. They were hospitable, good-humoured, and socially inclined, but they had little vivacity. Their manners he characterized as "somewhat abrupt, boisterous, and unconciliating[51]—in a word, bad: they paid little regard to external appearances or amusements, according to Howison, and their chief pleasure was "conversation". This, from the context, may justifiably be read 'gossip'. They also exhibited "a good deal of impertinent American curiosity".[52] In all their conversation Howison observed that they made incessant efforts to appear superior to what they really were.

Howison concluded that the Upper Canadians were always of active and industrious habits, and their chief faults sprang from the self-conceit so characteristic of a newly 'sovereign' or newly 'free' populace. The colonial's desire to be thought 'independent' (of everything, apparently, except his own whims and passions) was another over-riding fault, which, together with the first, Howison felt, was a great barrier to the improvement for which he and his compeers saw a crying need, but of which the colonials themselves were arrogantly unaware. But Howison asks a very relevant, if very short-sighted, question, when he inquires what good would come of refining these people, save to make them more agreeable to the few foreigners with whom they come into contact? This rationalizes away any need to advocate an impossible task, but the Canadian colony was essentially being built for the future; nevertheless he concedes the possibility that when this rush of 'liberty' subsided the national character of Upper Canada would change for the better.

The gentleman is not blameless for the lack of regard in which he was held. Often, paradoxically, he was too ready to be 'put upon' by his cunning native neighbours, thus forfeiting whatever respect he might have earned. The Moodies were constantly plagued with this trouble to their own virtual undoing. Mrs. Moodie presents her readers with many passages illustrative of the attitude of the gentleman to the colonial environment and its demands, but no single one is perhaps more reveal-

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49. Isaac Fidler, *Observations . . . in the United States and Canada*; New York, 1833; 133.
50. Howison, *op. cit.*; II, 450 *et sqq.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*

ing than the one which follows, both of the physical problems which the well-bred settler faced, and of the spiritual problems which overwhelmed him in meeting them:

> My husband and I had worked hard in the field, it was the first time I had ever tried my hand at field labour, but our ready money was exhausted, and the steam-boat stock had not paid us one farthing; we could not hire, and there was no help for it. I had a hard struggle with my pride before I would consent to render the least assistance on the farm, but reflection convinced me that I was wrong—that Providence had placed me in a position where I was called upon to work—that it was not only my duty to obey that call, but to exert myself to the utmost to assist my husband and help to maintain my family.[53]

Mrs. Moodie's sincerity here and in many similar passages cannot be doubted. She is extreme perhaps only in her frankness, although her writings indicate that she was overconscious of her 'place'; one doubts, for example, that Anne Langton would have greeted field-work, had she ever had to do it, with quite so much soul-searching and lack of aplomb. It should be noted, though, that Miss Langton never had to do farm labour, except voluntarily, and that Mrs. Moodie turned as willingly as she to housework. Only the sympathetic realization of how genuine such feelings were in their day and holder, and that they were so from long and unquestioned acceptance, can enable the modern reader to comprehend the shock of the new surroundings to a person from a significant stratum in the old.

Why, then, did so many of her rank come to Canada in the 1830's? When she was writing the Introduction to the third edition of her book in 1854, Mrs. Moodie herself gives the answers to this question:

> Men who had been hopeless of supporting their families in comfort and independence at home, thought that they had only to come out to Canada to make their fortunes . . . . They were made to believe that if it did not actually rain gold, that precious metal could be obtained . . . by stooping to pick it up.
>
> The infection became general. A Canada mania pervaded the middle ranks of British society . . . . A large majority of the higher class were officers of the army and navy with their families—a class perfectly unfitted by their previous habits and education for contending with the stern realities of the emigrant life.[54]

They wished to escape from a social situation in which they, trained to command, had been reduced by poverty to a position of being despised by the purse-proud, and relegated to the periphery of their accustomed circle, a position in which they might even have to work—an eventuality more unthinkable in the old country even than not to work would have been for a native in the new. "They cannot labour in a menial capacity", Mrs. Moodie explains, "in a country where they have been trained and

53. Mrs. Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*; Toronto, 1913 (1st published 1852); 391-2.

54. *Ibid.*, xviii.

educated to command."[55] No one, alas, told them that they would find an aggravated situation in the Upper Canadian colony from this standpoint, a fact which, when realized, wrought special hardships for the women, who seemed to be, and indeed were, more often than not worse off than before.

But frontier life was not without its compensations for gentlefolk if they possessed the adventurous spirit of Anne Langton, her brother, and her aged parents and aunt. The Langtons did not, it is true, suffer the Moodies' great misfortune of losing all their money in idle speculation, and they found many pleasures in bush life. If Anne Langton's whinings never really began, Mrs. Moodie's ceased when she was able to move to a situation more nearly analogous to that of her contemporary at Fenelon Falls. The straitlaced habits in which she had been trained troubled Miss Langton as well, however. She remarks at one point that, since their house lacked a drawing-room, she was deprived of the society of her female neighbours, for there was no place to receive them.[56]

E. A. Talbot prepared a most comprehensive outline of the Upper Canadian social structure as he thought it was in 1832. There were only two classes; the first, composed of professional men, merchants, civil and military officials and members of the provincial parliament, aped the same class in England—the upper middle—"but the men are much less intelligent and the women much less refined in their manners."[57] The men were "very little inferior to the country gentlemen of England" in most other ways, but the same could not be said for the women of wealth. The men were for the most part decently educated, but averse to reading and conversation, and seemed to be much addicted to drinking and gambling. To the second class in society Talbot assigned farmers, mechanics and labourers. This lower class did "not differ very materially in their customs and manners from the highest class."[58] They aped the upper class in every way and in rather an unintelligent fashion.

MacTaggart felt that it was too easy to assume the calling of a gentleman in the colonies, and that the concept had therefore become debased. "A nobody here may become somebody", he complained, "an insipid toiler a delightful gentleman."[59] He berated the affectation on the part of all classes of far too much gentility, and decried the tendency to make 'shopmen' the arbiters of social behaviour. The colonial definition of a gentleman is given by Mrs. Traill:

> After all it is education and manners that must distinguish the gentleman in this country, seeing that the labouring man, if

55. *Ibid.*, xv-xvi.
56. Anne Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: the Journals of Anne Langton*; Toronto, 1950; 107-8.
57. Talbot, *op. cit.*, II, 20.
58. *Ibid.*, 31.
59. MacTaggart, *op. cit.*, 81.

he is diligent and industrious, may soon become his equal in point of worldly possessions.[60]

The self-constituted colonial aristocracy had no basis except money, and the very narrowness of the social circle in all the towns led to a hopeless social provincialism, gossipy, dishonest, meddling, offering resistance to any new person or new idea. Thus Mrs. Jameson in 1837 found Toronto like "a fourth or fifth rate provincial town with the pretensions of a capital city."[61] Mrs. Jameson's damnatory account must be balanced by that of James Buckingham who observed of Toronto society three years afterwards that the best people appeared "to combine all the requisites of most perfect social intercourse, — elegance without ostentation, competency without extravagance, learning without pedantry, politeness without frivolity, hospitality without intemperance, and manly candour and frankness without undue familiarity."[62] Let it be borne in mind, however, that Buckingham was a visiting lecturer, and was thus, like any visiting lecturer in the 'provinces' of any nation, lionised by the elite, who would not show him in two or three weeks of such a process the unpleasant qualities that Mrs. Jameson detected after some months.

Mrs. Moodie's experiences in adjusting to the new environment point up the root of all the differences noted by these writers between the British homeland and the Canadian colony. Most of the travellers and writers among the immigrants were gentlemen—it was part of their ideology "that rank and place in society must always be marked and preserved, otherwise respectability and order will cease to exist".[63] John McGregor here states the unquestioned principle upon which the society of the old country was founded. It is this *rationale* that motivated the existence of the Family Compact, which operated, if it did, in apparent opposition to the wishes of the people of the frontier colony. The frontier was productive of a utopian situation in the minds of those living upon it, which inevitably clashed with those who wished to adhere to the old ideology because it had benefitted them. This serves to explain the great shock which most of these writers felt when they encountered the levelling processes of the frontier. They had left Great Britain, if they were immigrants, because they hoped to improve their monetary, and hence, they thought, their social position. Their horror at finding the colony as it was in the social sphere was compounded, therefore, of two elements: the realization that bettering their financial position was going to be much harder than they had thought, and that, even when they did, they would still be treated with contempt by their neighbours in the bush, or even in the town where 'a nobody could become somebody'. Frontier democracy and the rebellion which it produced in 1837 came

60. Mrs. Traill, *op. cit.*, 81.
61. Anna Jameson, *op. cit.*, 98.
62. Buckingham, *op. cit.*, 30.
63. John McGregor, *British America*; Edinburgh, 1832; I, 485.

as a profound surprise to most of these people; the more profound the more closely they were linked to its manifestations. There seemed to be no social principle of authority, save in the older parts of the colony where it was by no means unquestioned. In the colony, too, by 1830 and even earlier, the social ethos had begun the same process of crumbling and changing which was also starting in Great Britain and which was to occupy the social scene there for the next ninety years.

In the colony this process was further advanced and more boldly revealed. An ideology was there nakedly seen to be falling before the exponents of the liberal-democratic utopia, and the holders of that ideology were left confused and uncertain. In their observations on frontier society their confusion and disbelief can be clearly seen—prefiguring the like confusion which raged among their English counterparts in the onrush of social upheavals which followed the Reform Act of 1832, 1867 and 1884.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. Orlo Miller is well-known to every person interested in Ontario's history. Author of four history books, of literally hundreds of plays for radio and television, of innumerable free-lance articles for newspapers and magazines, Mr. Miller has also acted during the past nine years as public relations officer for several community charities in his native London. His paper printed here was originally read at our Society's annual meeting in June, 1952, at London.

Professor Morris Zaslow needs no introduction to this magazine as he has been its capable editor for the past five years. He is at present in Britain doing research on his special interest, northwestern Canada, thanks to a Dominions Fellowship from the Nuffield Foundation.

Mr. Eric Jackson is a graduate student in the Department of History, University of Toronto, studying political party organization. His article is a revision of a term paper submitted to a seminar at the University.

Mr. D. W. L. Earl is a graduate in history of Queen's University, and a research graduate of Cambridge University. He is presently Assistant Professor of History at the University of New Brunswick, and is a life member of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF TRAVEL AND PUBLICITY, FOR 1960

By D. F. McOuat, Director

The Historical Branch administers certain departmental functions relating to history, archaeology and museums. It also provides permanent staff for the Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board of Ontario, a body of private citizens which advises the Minister on matters relating to the above subjects.

Protection and Investigation of Archaeological and Historic Sites

Under the Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act of Ontario (1953) the Minister may, for a stated period of time, prevent any persons from excavating or altering an archaeological site or from removing objects therefrom.

In 1960 the site of an early Huron village of the European contact period, in Medonte Township, was designated under the Act. This site is probably that of Cahiague visited by Samuel de Champlain in 1615.

During the summer of 1960 the department employed qualified archaeologists to carry out certain field investigations which would assist in reaching decisions with regard to the marking and designation of historic sites. The information thus acquired will also prove useful should local organizations decide to develop the sites concerned or similar ones as tourist attractions.

Three main investigations were carried out. These included: a search for the exact locations of the principal buildings of the former naval establishment at Penetanguishene; tracing the outline of the palisade and interior structures of the former military depot at the western terminus of the Nine Mile Portage; and an investigation of the ruins of a seventeenth century Hudson's Bay Company post at the mouth of the Albany River. The latter investigation, carried out by archaeologists of the Royal Ontario Museum, is of outstanding significance since the site has lain undisturbed since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Little had been known previously concerning the types of structures and equipment of these very early fur trading posts. The information gained will be very helpful in any future reconstruction or public development of such posts. Among the minor field investigations was the tracing of the historic La Vase Portage on the old canoe route between Trout Lake and Lake Nipissing.

Aid to Museums

This province's museums constitute one of our most valuable assets whether considered from the educational or tourist points of view. It has been estimated that there were over two and a half million visits made to Ontario's museums and art galleries in 1959. At the same time,

most local museums are operated by voluntary effort and on a very limited and inadequate budget. To a modest extent this department is endeavouring to improve their status.

Marked progress was achieved during the past fiscal year in this regard. Under the department's museums regulations, small financial grants may be made to assist with the maintenance costs and curators' salaries of those museums which are owned and operated by municipalities.. These grants match municipal expenditures for the same purpose up to a stated maximum sum. During the past fiscal year thirty-two museums have received financial assistance under the above regulations.

In addition, this branch has on its staff a qualified museums technician who has been able to give much valuable aid. This covers such fields as display, lighting, conservation, identification, labelling, cataloguing, administration, financing and publicity. His advice is, of course, available to all the province's public museums, whether municipally owned or otherwise. The Museums Adviser is also preparing a census of the more than one hundred museums in Ontario and has made many useful suggestions regarding the exchange and acquisition of material. Apart from assisting smaller institutions, he has co-operated with the Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission in establishing museums at the latter's Upper Canada Village.

Erection of Historical Plaques

The historical plaques erected by the Department of Travel and Publicity during 1960, on the advice of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, are listed below. The brief descriptions appended thereto are not copies of the actual inscriptions on the plaques. Lists of the plaques erected in previous years by the above Department will be found in the following issues of this quarterly: Vol. XLIX, Nos. 1, 2, and 4; Vol. L, No. 4; and Vol. LI, No. 4.

Captain John Brant 1794-1823

A famous chief of the Six Nations and son of Captain Joseph Brant. A veteran of the War of 1812, he was the first Indian to be appointed Superintendent of the Six Nations, and the first Indian to be elected to the legislative assembly. (In front of the Council House, Ohsweken).

Sir William Hearst 1864-1941

Ontario's seventh prime minister, he served as minister of lands, forests and mines in Sir James Whitney's administration and succeeded him following the latter's death in 1914. (The legion park, Village of Tara).

The De Troyes Expedition 1686

Describes a remarkable military expedition sent from Montreal through the wilderness to attack the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts on James Bay. It was led by the Chevalier Pierre de Troyes, and

included the famous Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville. (Beside 4th Avenue, Ansonville, within boundaries of Iroquois Falls).

The Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway

This pioneer railway, which was promoted by a group of enterprising Toronto merchants, received its charter in 1868. It originally used narrow gauge track and ran from Weston to Owen Sound. Standard gauge was substituted, 1881-1883, and it was absorbed by the C.P.R. in 1884. (Beside C.P.R. station, Orangeville).

Sir James Pliny Whitney 1843-1914

Born in Williamsburg Township, he succeeded G. W. Ross in 1905 and became Ontario's sixth prime minister. (On the grounds of Holy Trinity Church, near Morrisburg).

The Talbot Road

This pioneer highway was first surveyed in 1804 by John Bostwick under the supervision of Colonel Thomas Talbot, founder of the Talbot Settlement. Parts were re-surveyed in 1809 by Mahlon Burwell and extensions run to the north and west. When completed it ran from Waterford to Amherstburg and was one of the earliest and most successful settlement roads in the province. (Beside Talbot Road West, 3 miles from St. Thomas).

Honourable John Rolph, M.D. 1793-1870

One of Upper Canada's outstanding historical personalities, he was a lawyer, physician and a leader in the struggle for political reform. (On Talbot Road West at entrance to former Rolph homestead).

Lieutenant-Colonel John Bostwick 1780-1849

Born in Massachusetts, he was the son of a Loyalist and came to Upper Canada as a child. He served as sheriff of the London District, as a deputy surveyor and laid out some of the earliest roads in the Talbot Settlement. Granted land at the mouth of Kettle Creek, he founded the community of Port Stanley. (At Christ Church, Port Stanley).

Lieutenant-Colonel Mahlon Burwell 1783-1846

An eminent surveyor and intimate of Colonel Thomas Talbot, he was responsible for laying out the Talbot Road. His extensive surveys in southwestern Upper Canada prepared the way for settlement. He served some twenty years in the legislative assembly, and the community of Port Burwell was named in his honour. (At village clerk's office, Port Burwell).

Jesuit Mission to the Hurons

Tells the story of the early struggles of the Jesuit fathers to establish a mission to the local Indians. First located near Fort Pontchartrain (Detroit), it was moved to Bois Blanc Island and the adjacent mainland in 1742, and after its destruction in 1747, was re-established in the vicinity of the plaque. It formed the nucleus of the Parish of Assumption, the first in the province. (Ambassador Park, Riverside Drive, Windsor).

Bois Blanc Island Blockhouses

Relates the history of the Bois Blanc (now Bob-Lo) island defences. The original blockhouses were built as outposts of Fort Malden, Amherstburg, after the British military establishment was moved there from Detroit in 1796. They were replaced in 1839 by the existing ones, to defend Amherstburg against the attacks of supporters of William Lyon Mackenzie's Rebellion of 1837-38. (In front of central blockhouse, Bob-Lo Island).

The Reverend John Stuart 1740-1811

The first resident Anglican priest in what is now Ontario, he settled in Kingston in 1785. Originally missionary to the Six Nations in pre-revolutionary times, he ministered to the white and Indian settlers in the Bay of Quinte area and as far west as Niagara and the Grand River. He could be termed the "father of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada". (In front of St. George's Cathedral, Kingston).

Agnes Campbell MacPhail 1890-1950

The first Canadian woman to become a member of parliament, she was interested primarily in legislation dealing with agricultural affairs, penal reform and social welfare. (At Hopeville, Proton Township, Grey County).

The Haldimand Grant 1784

This grant of land was made to the loyal members of the Six Nations of the Iroquois who fought as allies of the British during the American Revolution. It included an area stretching from the source to the mouth of the Grand River and extending for six miles on each side of that stream. (In front of County Court House, Cayuga).

Champlain's War Party 1615

Describes the unsuccessful attack made by Samuel de Champlain with his Huron and Algonkian allies on a palisaded Iroquois village near the present site of Syracuse, New York. On their way from the Huron village of Cahiague, they made use of the Trent Waterway. (Bayshore Park, Trenton).

"Tiger" Dunlop 1792-1848

Commemorating Dr. William Dunlop, one of Upper Canada's most colourful characters. An associate of John Galt, Superintendent of the Canada Company, he assisted the latter in opening up the Huron Tract and founded Goderich in 1827. Dunlop was also a noted author. (At his tomb, off highway No. 21, immediately north of Goderich).

The Kenora Thistles 1907

Commemorates the Kenora Thistles who won the Stanley Cup in 1907. Kenora was the smallest town ever to win this trophy. (Memorial Park, Kenora).

Loyalist Memorial Church

Commemorates the Anglican congregation of Adolphustown dating back to 1784; its first church built in 1822 (which still stands); and the present church of St. Alban-the-Martyr erected to commemorate the early Loyalists of the region. (St. Alban-the-Martyr, Adolphustown).

The Reverend John Langhorn 1744-1817

Commemorates the first resident clergyman in the Bay of Quinte region. He came to the area in 1787 as missionary to the Townships of Ernesttown and Fredericksburg, and served until 1813. (St. John's Anglican Church, Bath).

Sir Allen Bristol Aylesworth 1854-1932

A distinguished lawyer and politician, he served as Canadian member of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal in 1903. A member of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet he held the posts of postmaster-general and minister of labour 1905-06, and minister of justice, 1906-11. (In front of Council House, Newburgh).

William H. Merritt 1793-1862

One of the first settlers on the site of St. Catharines, Merritt was a pioneer in the field of transportation and was primarily responsible for the construction of the first Welland Canal, 1824-29. (Memorial Park, St. Catharines).

The Canada Constellation 1799-1800

This was Upper Canada's earliest independent newspaper, and was published by two brothers, Silvester and Gideon Tiffany, who had emigrated from the United States. (Niagara Museum Grounds, Niagara-on-the-Lake).

Memorial Hall 1906

Commemorates the first building in Ontario to be constructed solely for use as an historical museum. This plaque also commemorates Janet Carnochan, the noted historian of the Niagara Peninsula. (Niagara Museum Grounds, Niagara-on-the-Lake).

The Burning of St. Davids 1814

Commemorates a tragic incident during the War of 1812 when an invading force of American soldiers razed St. Davids. Their commanding officer was later dismissed from the United States Army because of this action. (In front of St. Davids Public School).

Major John Richardson 1796-1852

One of Upper Canada's pioneer historians and authors, Richardson was born in Queenston. As a professional soldier he served in Canada, the West Indies and Spain. He published two newspapers in Upper Canada, and wrote many informative historical accounts and successful poems and novels. His epic poem "Tecumseh" and historical novel "Wacosta" together with his "War of 1812" are his best known works. (In front of Laura Secord Memorial School, Queenston).

The Manitowaning Indian Treaties

Commemorates the treaties of 1836 and 1862 between the chiefs of the Ojibwa and the Ottawa Indians and the government. The first treaty designated Manitoulin Island as a reserve for all Indians wishing to settle there, while the second opened the island, exclusive of its eastern peninsula, to white settlers. (Grounds of the Assiginack Museum, Manitowaning).

Route of the Voyageurs

Identifies this channel as part of the historic canoe route to the west. The plaque lists many of the well-known explorers, missionaries, and fur traders who used the channel and who opened up the interior of the continent. (At Swift Current Channel about 9 miles north of Little Current).

Eldon House

Commemorates London's oldest existing house, built in 1834 by a retired British Naval Officer, Captain John Harris. (At main entrance to Eldon House, Ridout Street North, London).

Ebenezer Allan 1752-1813

A native of New Jersey, he fought for the British during the American Revolution, then settled in the Genessee region of New York State where he founded Rochester. Allan later moved to Upper Canada where he founded Delaware. Following bitter disputes with the provincial authorities over land tenure, he aided American invaders during the War of 1812. (Municipal Park, Delaware).

Founders of Ingersoll

Commemorates Major Thomas Ingersoll and his son Charles who were responsible for the first major settlement of the townships of West, North and East Oxford, and founded the community of Ingersoll. (Beside Thames Street Bridge, Ingersoll).

Woodstock College

Commemorates the famous co-educational institution sponsored by the Baptists which was opened in 1860. At one time it was expected to attain full university status, but became purely a boys' preparatory school in 1890 and was closed in 1926. (At site of the former college, Wilson and College Street, Woodstock.

George Tillson 1782-1864

Commemorates the founding of Tillsonburg and its founder. This community, known originally as Dereham Forge, grew around the sawmill and foundry that Tillson established. (In front of Town Hall, Tillsonburg).

Captain James Keating, R.A.

"One gun Keating" was born in Ireland and came to Upper Canada during the War of 1812. He captured American held Fort Shelby using a single cannon. Keating was later Fort Adjutant at St. Joseph's Island, Drummond Island, and in 1828 at Penetanguishene. He played a leading role in that pioneer community until his death in 1849. (On grounds of Military and Naval Establishments, Penetanguishene).

Captain John Moberly, R.N., 1789-1848

Commemorates the services of the gallant sailor who was sent to Upper Canada to command the British naval forces on the upper Great Lakes. With Keating he was responsible for the building of the garrison church, St. James-on-the-Lines. (Penetanguishene).

"Jake" Gaudaur 1858-1937

A native of Orillia, Jacob Gill Gaudaur was one of the world's greatest oarsmen. (Atherley and Orchard Point Roads, Orillia).

Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Dulhut 1636-1710

This famous French explorer settled in Canada in 1655, and built the first post at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River in 1679. He annexed what is now the northwestern portion of this province and northern Minnesota to France and did much to further the westward expansion of New France. (In front of City Hall, Fort William).

Silver Islet 1868

Relates the story of a small barren rock which became one of the richest sources of silver in North America. This mine produced over $3,250,000 worth of ore before it closed in 1884. Some of the original mine buildings still exist on the adjacent mainland. (At Silver Islet, Sibley Point Peninsula).

The Founder of Preston

Commemorates John Erb (1764-1832) a Pennsylvania Mennonite who came to Upper Canada in 1805. He settled on the site of Preston and built a sawmill and grist-mill around which the community grew. (In front of Town Hall, Preston).

The West Montrose Covered Bridge 1881

Commemorates Ontario's last remaining covered bridge. (At the bridge in West Montrose).

Bishop Benjamin Eby 1785-1853

This influential Mennonite leader settled in Upper Canada in 1807. The land he acquired now forms part of the city of Kitchener. He played a leading role in both the religious and temporal life of the rapidly growing settlement that was known at first as Ebytown, later named Berlin and re-named Kitchener in 1916. (At First Mennonite Church, Kitchener).

Sir Adam Beck's Birthplace

Commemorates the founder of Ontario's public hydro-electric power system, who was born in Baden in 1857. (In front of Baden Public School, Baden).

William Lyon Mackenzie King 1874-1950

Commemorates Canada's tenth prime minister who was born in Berlin (Kitchener) and was a grandson of the leader of the Rebellion of 1837, William Lyon Mackenzie. (In front of City Hall, Kitchener).

The Destruction of the Caroline 1837

Commemorates the daring exploit of Captain Andrew Drew, R.N., and a group of volunteers who, during the Rebellion of 1837-38, captured

and destroyed an American owned vessel the "Caroline", which had been supplying William Lyon Mackenzie's rebel forces on Navy Island. This action almost precipitated war between Britain and the United States. (Niagara Parks Boulevard, 1½ miles south of Chippawa).

Fort Chippawa

This plaque stands on the site of a fortification built in 1791 to protect the southern terminus of the Niagara Portage Road. Consisting of a large blockhouse and stockade, it was enlarged in 1814-15, but was later abandoned. (North bank of the Chippawa River, Chippawa).

Sir John Henry Lefroy 1817-1890

A British artillery officer, Lefroy was posted to Canada, 1842-53, where he was in charge of the original observatory building which once stood on the college campus. In 1843-44, he conducted extensive magnetic surveys and meteorological observations in the far northwest, which established more accurately the position of the magnetic pole. (S.A.C. building, University of Toronto).

York Mills

Commemorates the settlement and growth of this community, which was known originally as Hogg's Hollow. (York Mills Park, North Yonge Street, Metropolitan Toronto).

St. James' Cathedral

The first church in York (Toronto) was built on the site of the present cathedral, 1803-07. It was succeeded by a second building in 1831 and by the first cathedral in 1839. This in turn was destroyed by fire in 1849, and the present cathedral was begun in 1850, opened in 1853 and completed in 1874. (King Street East and Church Street, Toronto).

C. W. Jefferys 1869-1951

Commemorates one of Canada's outstanding historical artists. (At 4111 Yonge Street, North York, Metropolitan Toronto).

Jean Baptiste Rousseaux 1758-1812

A French Canadian fur trader, he built a post at the mouth of the Humber before 1791. His knowledge of the region proved very useful to the founders of Upper Canada's new capital of York, of which he might be termed the first citizen. (Metro Park on east bank of Humber at foot of Riverside Drive, Toronto).

Bethesda Church and Burying Ground

Commemorates one of the earliest Lutheran congregations in Upper Canada, members of which came to the province in 1794. Their first church, built in 1820, stood near the site where the plaque is placed. (Lutheran cemetery, Kennedy Road, 1 mile north of Unionville).

The Berczy Settlement 1794

Commemorates the first settlement in Markham Township. In 1794 William von Moll Berczy (1748-1813) brought a group of German settlers into the area. Overcoming much hardship and sickness, they laid the foundations for a prosperous agricultural community. (Lutheran cemetery, Kennedy Road, 1 mile north of Unionville).

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MUSEUMS SECTION

Financial Report for the year ended December 31, 1960

Cash on Hand, December 31, 1959		
Petty Cash	$ 25.00	
Bank Balance	475.32	
		$ 500.32
Receipts, 1960:		
Newsletter Subscriptions (including $144 for 1961)	$288.00	
Bank Interest	15.16	
Government Grant through O.H.S.	500.00	
Sale of Publications	17.60	820.76
		$1,321.08
Expenses, 1960:		
Newsletter—Printing	$123.77	
Postage	42.35	
Expenses	11.25	
	$177.37	
Printing of Booklets	174.83	
Printing of 1959 Workshop Report	79.55	
Bank Exchange	1.85	
1960 Workshop, net cost	46.63	
Stationery	20.31	
Associations memberships	13.00	
Travelling Expenses	101.00	
Postage	12.84	
Flowers and Gifts	26.00	
Telephone	10.25	
		663.63
Cash on Hand, December 31, 1960		
Petty Cash	$ 25.00	
Bank Balance	632.45	
		657.45
		$1,321.08

We have examined the foregoing statement and the books and vouchers on which it is based and find them correct.

J. J. TALMAN, LILLIAN R. BENSON.

London, January 27, 1961.

THE ABBE D'URFE IN QUEBEC AND ONTARIO

The following note has very kindly been provided by Mr. Thomas R. Lee of Baie d'Urfé, P.Q.

An historic-site plaque will be unveiled in Baie d'Urfé, Quebec, this June marking the establishment of a chapel there 275 years ago by Abbé François-Saturnin Lascaris d'Urfé, Sulpician. This Chapel of St. Louis, of which nothing remains today, was the first church on the island of Montreal west of Lachine and it centred a mission which marked the beginnings of today's town of Baie d'Urfé.

But while the works of d'Urfé are being remembered in this fashion in Quebec, he actually spent more—much more—of his time in Ontario, more particularly at Kenté, a Sulpician mission for the Iroquois near the present village of Consecon, in Prince Edward County. D'Urfé, who died in Paris in 1701, spent some two years in the Baie d'Urfé area, but he was in Kenté, or Quinté, and vicinity for seven or eight years.

D'Urfé came to Canada in 1668 and after a training period at Sulpician headquarters in Ville Marie (Montreal), when he learned the language of the Iroquois, he was posted to the relatively new mission of Kenté, joining there his cousin, Abbé François de Salignac Fénelon, whose quarrel with Count Frontenac is a part of Canadian history, and another Sulpician, Claude Trouvé. It was d'Urfé and Trouvé who introduced Frontenac to the Indian chiefs in the area in 1673 when the French commander sought a site for Fort Frontenac, where Kingston now stands.

D'Urfé returned to France in 1673-4 to help his cousin Fénelon in his bitter struggle with Frontenac. A letter d'Urfé wrote to Louis XIV's first minister, Colbert, complaining of Frontenac's general behavior in Canada, is said to have led to Frontenac's recall to France. D'Urfé returned to Kenté in, it is believed, 1675, serving there again until 1677, when he returned to France once more. Some of d'Urfé's trials, tribulations and work at Kenté are recounted in Dollier de Casson's *History of Montreal*, written in 1672.

It was in 1685 that d'Urfé came to Canada for the third time. Kenté mission had been abandoned for some years. He was named the first curé of the newly-created parish of St. Louis du haut de l'Ile, which embraced the island of Montreal west of what is today the city of Pointe Claire. D'Urfé established his chapel on the shore of Lake St. Louis in what is now Baie d'Urfé, serving both habitant, seigneur and Indian. Records indicate that the mission functioned some two years before being ravaged in the new Iroquois outbreak. and d'Urfé returned to France once again, this time for good.

Thus the new monument and plaque at Baie d'Urfé will not only commemorate a man whose name the community bears, but a man who played perhaps even a greater roll as a missionary in a wild section of what is now the province of Ontario.

NEWS OF THE SOCIETIES

A circular letter sent to all our affiliated societies by the secretary has met with a good response and a summary of the activities of some of the societies is presented herewith. There is such a great wealth and variety of information about local activities that it is impossible to give more than the highlights from these reports, and we hope that no society will be discouraged thereby from sending us the fullest possible account of what they have been doing. Three features stand out in the reports—widespread interest in museum work, increasing efforts to awaken an historical interest in the younger generation, and on the debit side, a general slowing down in the rate of increase of membership in local societies, with a few noteworthy exceptions.

Ancaster Township Historical Society has donated a $25 prize for the student with highest marks in Grade XIII history in the Township, and Lundy's Lane Historical Society has again offered its prize for the high school student with highest marks in history. Brant Historical Society reports that 3,569 school children visited its museum in the past year. Oshawa and District Historical Society's biggest project of the year was the opening on May 21 of the Henry House Museum. Up to October 10 it had received 2,445 visitors, not counting young children. Hastings County Historical Society has established its museum in the old Hastings County Registry building this year, and has sponsored a school essay contest. Wellington County Historical Research Society also sponsored a junior essay contest, and gave free memberships to all school children. On two television broadcasts it displayed some of its museum treasures.

Scarborough Historical Society reports that 4,000 copies of a seven-page history of Scarborough were distributed to school children and the general public. The Society has recently acquired a former Sunday school building for use as a meeting hall, storage place, and perhaps eventually as a museum. In addition to arranging a special display of material of the War of 1812-14 period at Memorial Hall museum, Niagara Historical Society undertook a more unusual venture when it sponsored candle-light concerts by the Peninsula Baroque Ensemble in eighteenth-century costume at Memorial Hall during the summer season.

Waterloo Historical Society now has 583 members and has published another volume of its annual papers. The United Empire Loyalists Association Toronto Branch reports 400 members and the offering of four scholarships in history. Oakville Historical Society has a one-third increase in membership over last year. During 1960 it sponsored many visits by adult groups and classes of school children to its museum. The pamphlet "The City and County of Peterborough: Past and Present" has been revised and reprinted by the Historical Society of the City and County of Peterborough. This society has begun work on a Peterborough

Historical and Art Museum Trust as a preliminary step to establishing a museum and art gallery. London and Middlesex Historical Society has been busy on historic Eldon House which was presented to the city in June by the Harris family. The intention is to open the house to the public, not as a formal museum, but as a "stately home", a living period piece. One of their members, Mr. Leslie Gray, a past president of the Ontario Historical Society, has just completed the indexing and microfilming of the Proudfoot Papers. Another microfilm project is being operated by the Kent Historical Society. Working in close co-operation with the local library they are filming newspaper and hope in future to preserve early documents by this method. This society has nearly doubled its membership in the past year.

Hiram Walker Historical Museum received 3,052 visitors including 1,122 children in thirty-five classes on conducted tours which were addressed by the curator. Fenelon Falls Historical Society which is working for a local museum reports the death of its esteemed Corresponding Secretary, Miss Bessie Nie. A new museum was established by the Etobicoke Historical Society, which also publishes a news bulletin for its members. Public attention was drawn to the work of the Grey County Historical and Art Society by its series of weekly ten-minute radio programmes. The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto has also been in the public eye. Its November meeting passed a resolution protesting the demolition of the University Avenue Armories, and requested that the Post Office take steps to issue a centennial postage stamp in 1961 honouring the great Indian poetess, E. Pauline Johnson. A life member of the Ontario Historical Society, Hugh Douglass, has been instrumental in establishing a new historical society at Guelph, and we take this opportunity of wishing it every success.

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE
GENERAL ACCOUNT

Year ended December 31, 1960

REVENUE

Membership Fees:			
Annual	$1,989.17		
Libraries and Societies	641.20		
			$2,630.37
Ontario Government grant	$3,500.00		
Less Allocation of Museum Section	500.00		
			$3,000.00
Interest income			399.67
Donations			7.00
Annual meeting:			
Income	$ 952.00		
Less Expenditure	839.58		
			112.42
Sales of Bartlett Prints			25.00
Net income on book sales:			
Sale of books	$ 123.00		
Cost of sales:			
Inventory at beginning of year	$ 754.68		
Purchase of "Windsor Border Region"	312.00		
	$1,066.68		
Inventory at end of year	983.40	83.28	39.72
			$6,214.18

EXPENDITURE

Ontario History:		
Editor's honorarium	$ 500.00	
Engraving	117.53	
Indexing	118.00	
Postage	130.43	
Printing	3,053.90	
Sundry	82.75	
		$4,002.61
Auditor's fee		50.00
Exchange		27.58
Fees and subscriptions		23.30
Fidelity bond		24.00
Gratuities		10.00
Moving publications		56.50
Postage		60.00
Printing and stationery		334.67
Purchase of Addressograph		241.25
Safety deposit box		5.00
Secretary's honorarium		675.00
Travel		162.90
Sundry		13.27
		$5,686.08
Surplus for year		528.10
		$6,214.18

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 31, 1960

ASSETS

General Account:			
Cash		$4,039.40	
Bonds, at par value		1,800.00	
Inventory of publications, at cost:			
The Valley of the Trent	$375.00		
Royal Fort Frontenac	165.36		
Kingston before 1812	162.24		
Windsor Border Region	280.80	983.40	6,822.80
General Cruickshank Publication Fund:			
Cash		$1,639.97	
Bonds, at par value		5,400.00	
Due from general account		515.63	
			7,555.60
Life Membership Fund:			
Bonds, at par value		$ 400.00	
Due from general account		50.00	
			450.00
Reserve Account:			
Bonds, at par value			5,000.00
Bequest Fund:			
Bonds, at par value		$ 200.00	
Due from general account		42.72	
			242.72
Suspended Societies Account:			
Cash		$ 130.72	
Bonds, at par value		100.00	
Due from general account		3.00	
			233.72
			$20,304.84

LIABILITIES

General Account:			
Due to other funds:			
General Cruickshank fund	$ 515.63		
Life Membership fund	50.00		
Bequest fund	42.72		
Suspended Societies account	3.00		
Suspended Societies account	3.00	611.35	
		611.35	
Reserve for fees paid in advance		451.25	
Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1960	$5,232.10		
Surplus for year	528.10	5,760.20	
			$ 6,822.80
General Cruickshank Publication Fund:			
Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1960		$7,005.18	
Sale of books	$ 289.63		
Interest income	260.79	550.42	
			7,555.60
Life Membership Fund:			
Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 400.00	
New member in 1960		50.00	
			450.00
Reserve Account:			
Surplus			5,000.00
Bequest Fund:			
Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 233.22	
Interest income		9.50	
			242.72
Suspended Societies Account:			
Surplus:			
Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 227.26	
Interest income		6.46	
			233.72
			$20,304.84

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have examined the balance sheet of the Ontario Historical Society as at December 31, 1960 and the statement of revenue and expenditure, general account for the year ended on that date.

In our opinion the accompanying balance sheet and related statement of revenue and expenditure, general account present fairly the financial position of the Society as at December 31, 1960 and the results of its operations for the year ended on that date, in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding years.

THORNE, MULHOLLAND, HOWSON, McPHERSON,

Toronto, Canada, April 19, 1961. Chartered Accountants.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at $4 per cloth-bound volume and $2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at $1 per number or $3 per volume of four issues. Several special volumes of documentary material also are available, including the first four volumes of the Ontario Local Histories Series, "The Valley of the Trent" by E. C. Guillet; "Royal Fort Frontenac" by R. A. Preston and L. Lamontagne; "Kingston Before the War of 1812" by R. A. Preston; "The Windsor Border Region" by E. J. Lajeunesse, C.S.B.—each $3.50 to members.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, $3 a year, sustaining $10 a year, family $5, and annual, $3. Life memberships are $50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

The Executive Committee is: President, Mr. A. David McFall, Toronto; First Vice-President, Mr. Andrew W. Taylor, Galt; Second Vice-President, Miss Kaye McFarland, Napanee; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5; Immediate Past-President, Professor J. M. S. Careless, Toronto; Additional Members — Miss Mary Farmer, Hamilton; Mr. John M. Gray, Toronto; Miss Adeline Hanna, Niagara Falls; Mr. Charles Humphries, Toronto; Mrs. Gordon Lapp, Port Credit; Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz, Kitchener.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS IN ONTARIO

affiliated with The Ontario Historical Society

27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

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Bruce County Historical Museum. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. T. J. Cornish, Box 446, Chesley.
Bruce County Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. George Downey, Eskdale Farms, Tiverton.
Dufferin Area Historical Association. Sec., Mrs. Russell Turnbull, Mono Centre.
Dundas Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. H. H. Pirie, 133 Park St. West, Dundas.
Essex County Historical Association. Sec., Mr. Gordon F. Mann, Board of Education, 451 Park Street West, Windsor.
Etobicoke Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Dorothy Hobbs, 199 Kipling Avenue North, Islington.
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Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society.
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Historical Society of Ottawa. Sec., Miss Mabel M. Stewart, 465 Tweedsmuir Ave., Ottawa.
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Huronia Historic Sites and Tourist Association. Sec., Mr. J. R. Chittick, 236 King Street, Midland.
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Lundy's Lane Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Adeline Hanna, 1736 Woodland Blvd., Niagara Falls, Ontario.
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